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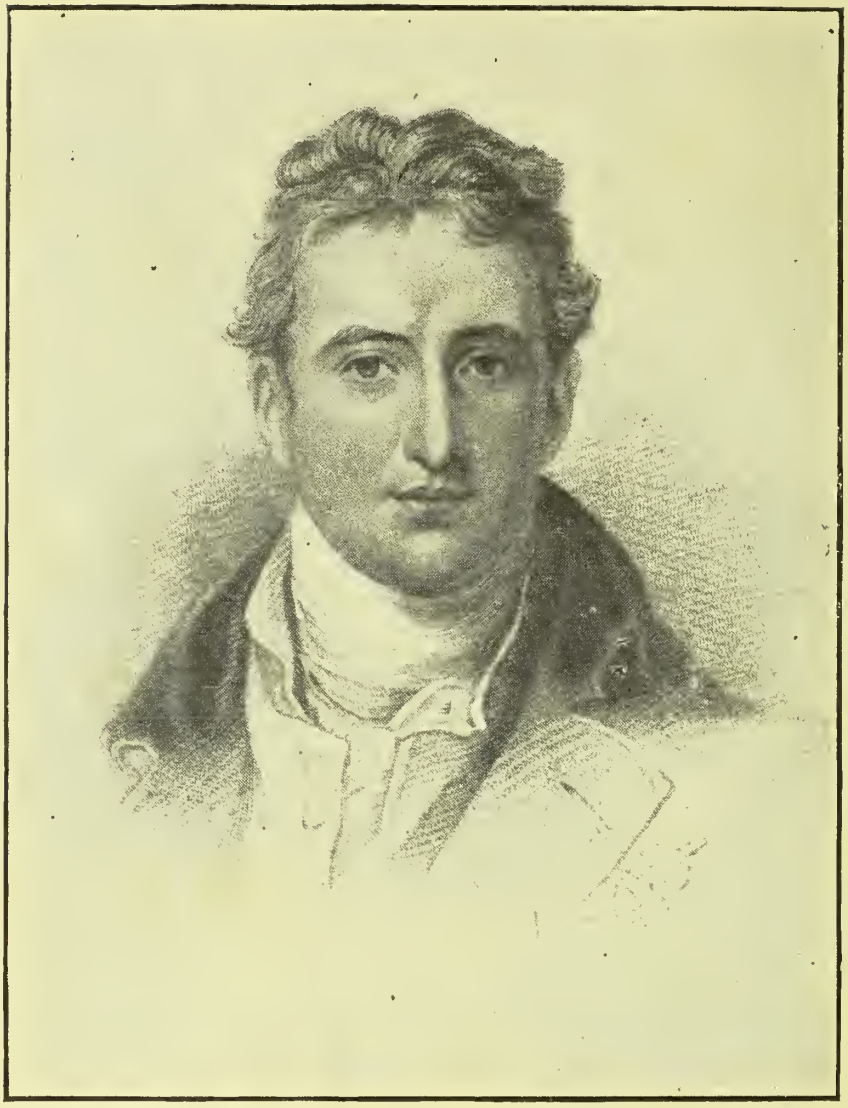

ROBERT STEWART, Viscount Castlereagh, "a wretch never named but with curses and jeers." Born June, 1769. Educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. Entered Irish Parliament as member for Co. Down 1790. Stewart was an ardent reformer during his early days, and in after life was frequently taunted with his apostacy. In 1797 he was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal, and acted as Chief Secretary during Pelham's absence. He was largely responsible for the administration of law during the 1798 period. On being appointed to the office of Chief Secretary he set about the task of effecting a legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, and through bribery, the purchase of rotten boroughs, and the open purchase of votes, he succeeded in getting the measure through both Houses of Parliament. Later he was appointed Secretary of War and appears to have acted with judgment and success. He cut his throat with a pen knife on August 12th, 1822, and was buried in Westminister Abbey.

THE

UNITED IRISHMEN

THEIR

LIVES AND TIMES

WITH SEVERAL ADDITIONAL MEMOIRS, AND AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS, HERETOFORE UNPUBLISHED: THE WHOLE MATTER NEWLY ARRANGED AND REVISED

BY

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WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

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CHAPTER X.

New Organization of the Society of United Irishmen—Extended Aims, Revolutionary Plans, and Military Aspect of its Proceedings.

The new organization of the society of United Irishmen was completed on the 10th of May, 1795; separation and a republican government became the fixed objects of its principal leaders, but not the avowed ones till a little later, when, at the conclusion of every meeting, the chairman was obliged to inform the members of each society, "they had undertaken no light matter", and he was directed to ask every delegate present what were his views and his understanding of those of his society, and each individual was expected to reply, "a republican government and a separation from England".*

Early in 1794, however, the question had been mooted of soliciting the co-operation of France, and a person was appointed to go on that mission; but various circumstances conspired to prevent his departure, till the trial of Jackson, an emissary of the French government, brought to general notice the intentions of the French with respect to invasion; and at this period Tone, who was implicated more or less in Jackson's guilt, and permitted to go to America, was solicited by certain persons in Ireland to set forth to the French government, through its agents in America, on his arrival there, "the state of Ireland and its dispositions". These dispositions are to be gathered from a communication addressed to Tone in America, and published in the "Life of Tone", by his son, styled, "A Letter from one of the Chief Catholic Leaders in Dublin, September 3rd, 1795, wherein Tone is told "to remember and to execute his garden conversation". This letter was written by John Keogh.

Reference is made also in Tone's diary to a conversation which had taken place a day or two previously to his departure from Dublin, at Emmet's country residence at Rathfarnham. The persons present were Emmet, Tone, and Russell. Tone's account of this interview is told in simple and expressive language. "A short time before my departure", he says, "my friend Russell being in town, he and I walked out together to see Emmet, who has a charming villa there. He showed us a little study, of an elliptical form, which he was building at the bottom of the

* Vide "Pieces of Irish History", p. 109.

lawn, and which he said he would consecrate to our meetings, if ever we lived to see our country emancipated.

"I begged of him, if he intended Russell to be of the party, in addition to the books and maps it would naturally contain, to fit up a small cellaret, capable of holding a few dozens of his best claret. He showed me that he had not omitted that circumstance, which he acknowledged to be essential, and we both rallied Russell with considerable success. As we walked together towards town, I opened my plan to them both. I told them I considered my compromise with government to extend no further than the banks of the Delaware, and the moment I landed I was to follow any plan that might suggest itself for the emancipation of my country. I then proceeded to tell them that my intention was, immediately on my arrival in Philadelphia, to wait on the French minister, to detail to him fully the situation of affairs in Ireland, and endeavour to obtain a recommendation to the French government, and having succeeded so far, to leave my family in America, set off immediately for Paris, and apply, in the name of my country, for the assistance of France to enable us to assert our independence. It is unnecessary, I believe, to say that this plan met with the warmest approbation and support, both from Russell and Emmet; we shook hands, and having repeated our professions of unalterable regard and esteem for each other, we parted; and this was the last interview which I was so happy as to have with these two invaluable friends together. I remember it was in a little triangular field that this conversation took place, and Emmet remarked, that it was in one like it, in Switzerland, where William Tell and his associates planned the downfall of the tyranny of Austria".*

Tone took his departure from Dublin on the 20th of May, 1795, and the conversation alluded to having taken place immediately after Jackson's trial at the latter end of April, this suggestion of the employment of force, with the concurrence of Emmet and Russell, must have been made in the month of May, 1795. O'Connor, on his examination before the secret committee in 1798, stated that the executive had sent to seek an alliance with France in May, 1796, which was formed in the August following—"the first entered into between the Irish Union and the French Government".†

The opinion, however, of the necessity and advantage of independence and separation, had been declared as early as the year 1790, in a private letter addressed by Tone to his friend Russell, which subsequently fell into the hands of government. "In forming this theory (Tone says, in

* "Tone's Life", vol. i. 125. Washington edition.

† "Memoir of the Examination of O'Connor, Emmett, and M'Nevin", p. 48.

reference to his political sentiments in 1790), I was exceedingly assisted by an old friend of mine, Sir Laurence Parsons (the late Lord Rosse), and it was he who first turned my attention to this great question, but I very soon ran far ahead of my master. It is, in fact, to him I am indebted for the first comprehensive view of the actual situation of Ireland; what his conduct might be in a crisis I know not, but I can answer for the truth and justice of his theory".*

The congenial sentiments of Sir Laurence Parsons at this period with Mr. Tone's, on the subjects alluded to, are found expressed strongly enough in a poem on the state of Ireland, by Sir Laurence Parsons, the following lines of which may be taken as a sample of its political tendency:†

"What, though with haughty arrogance and pride
England shall o'er this long-duped country stride,
And lay on stripe on stripe, and shame on shame,
And brand to all eternity its name:
'Tis right well done. Bear all, and more, I say,
Nay, ten times more, and then for more still pray.
What state in something would not foremost be?
She strives for shame, thou for servility.
The other nations of the Earth, now fired
To noblest deeds, by noblest minds inspired,
High in the realms of glory write a name,
Wreath'd round with Liberty's immortal flame:
'Tis thine to creep a path obscure, unknown,
The palm of ev'ry meanness all thine own.

* * * * *

Search your own breast: in abject letters there
Read why you still the tinsell'd slav'ry wear:
Though Britain, with a trembling hand, untied
The fetters fashion'd in her power and pride,
Still are you slaves, in baser chains entwin'd,
For though your limbs are free, you're slaves in mind".

Tone unfortunately acted on his opinion, and was doomed to an ignominious death. Sir Laurence Parsons was fortunate enough to outlive his early principle, succeeded to a title, forgot the wrongs that had been the subject of his poetry, frequented the fashionable circles of London, and died a loyal subject—the whole amount of praise his lordship's public career had any claim to. The men who perished in these disastrous times on the scaffold, might have become as loyal subjects as Sir Laurence Parsons, if mercy had more influence in the councils of the rulers of the land in those days.

* "Tone's Life", vol. i. p. 32. † "Tone's Life", vol. i. p. 564.

After the Indemnity and Insurrection Acts had been moved by the attorney-general, and the system of coercion and extermination in the north had received the sanction of those laws, an important meeting of the executive took place in May, 1796, and it was determined, as if for the first time, that no constitutional means of opposing oppression were available, and that assistance must be sought from a foreign power.

The report of the Lords' Committee of 1798 gives the following account of the negotiations with France:—

"It appears to your committee that, early in the year 1796, a proposition was made from the executive directory of the French Republic, by Theobald Wolfe Tone, late a barrister of this country, who absconded shortly after the conviction of a man of the name of Jackson, for treason, in the year 1794, to the executive directory of the Irish Union, that a French army should be sent to Ireland to assist the republicans of this country in subverting the monarchy and separating Ireland from the British Crown. Messrs. Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, William M'Nevin, and Oliver Bond, all of whom have been members of the Irish republican directory, have deposed that this was the first communication within their knowledge which took place between the Irish and French directories, and that the proposition originally moved from France. Your committee, however, are of opinion, that the communication thus made to the Irish directory through Mr. Tone, must have taken place in consequence of an application originating with some members of the Irish Union, inasmuch as it appears by the report of the secret committee of this house, made in the last session of parliament, that a messenger had been despatched by the Society of United Irishmen to the executive directory of the French Republic, upon a treasonable mission, between the month of June, 1795, and the month of January, 1796, at which time the messenger so sent had returned to Ireland; and your committee have strong reason to believe that Edward John Lewins, who now is, and has been for a considerable time, the accredited resident ambassador of the Irish rebellious union to the French Republic, was the person thus despatched in the summer of 1795. It appears to your committee that the proposition so made by the French directory, of assistance to the rebels of this kingdom, was taken into consideration by the executive directory of the Irish Union immediately after it was communicated to them; that they did agree to accept the proffered assistance, and that their determination was made known to the directory of the French Republic by a special messenger, and your committee have strong reason to believe, that the invasion of this kingdom which was afterwards attempted, was fully arranged at an

interview which took place in Switzerland in the summer of 1796, near the French frontier, between Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the aforesaid Mr. Arthur O'Connor, and General Hoche. It appears that in the month of October or November, 1796, the hostile armament which soon after appeared in Bantry Bay, was announced to the Irish directory by a special messenger despatched from France, who was also instructed to inquire into the state of preparation in which this country stood; which armament was then stated to the Irish directory to consist of 15,000 troops, together with a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition intended for the use of the Irish republican union. In a few days after the departure of the messenger who had been thus sent to announce the speedy arrival of this armament on the coasts of this kingdom, it appears to your committee that a letter from France was received by the Irish directory, which was considered by them as authentic, stating that the projected descent was postponed for some months; and to this circumstance it has been fairly acknowledged to your committee, by one of the Irish directory, that this country was indebted for the good conduct of the people in the province of Munster when the enemy appeared in Bantry Bay. He has confessed that these contradictory communications threw the Irish directory off their guard, in consequence of which they omitted to prepare the people for the reception of the enemy. He has confessed that the people were loyal because they were left to themselves. It appears to your committee that after the attempt to invade this kingdom in December, 1796, had failed, the Irish directory renewed their solicitations to France for assistance, and it was determined by them to establish a regular communication and correspondence with the Directory of France, by a resident accredited Irish minister at Paris. Accordingly it appears that, in April, 1797, Edward John Lewins, of this city, attorney-at-law, was despatched from hence, under the assumed name of Thompson, to act as the minister of the Irish republican directory at Paris. That he went by way of Hamburg, where he obtained a letter of credence from the French minister to General Hoche, with whom he had a conference at Frankfort, from whence he proceeded to Paris, where he has continued to reside from that time, as the minister of the executive directory of the republic of Ireland. It appears that, in June, 1797, a second messenger, Dr. William James M'Nevin, was despatched by the same directory to Paris, with more precise instructions than they were enabled to give to Lewins, and that M'Nevin also took Hamburg in his way, where, finding some difficulty in obtaining a passport from Rheynhart, the French minister, to enable him to go to Paris, he presented a memoir in

writing to that minister, containing the substance of his instructions from his employers, to be transmitted to the directory of the French republic. M'Nevin has stated to your committee the principal points of this memoir, in which it was recommended particularly to the directory of the French Republic, on their next attack on this kingdom, rather to make a landing at Oysterhaven than at Bantry, as the reduction of the city of Cork would be thereby considerably facilitated; and he has stated that it also contained every species of information which occurred to the Irish directory as useful to the enemy in their projected invasion of this kingdom, the particulars of which your committee forbear further to detail, as they have annexed the said M'Nevin's confession made to them by way of appendix to this report. It appears that the said M'Nevin having obtained a passport from the French minister at Hamburg, soon after the delivery of his memoir to him, proceeded directly to Paris, where he had several conferences with some of the ministers of the French Republic, in which he pressed strongly upon them the advantages of a second armament against this kingdom, in which an additional supply of arms was represented as necessary, from the seizure which had been made, by order of government, of arms which had been collected for rebellion in the northern province; and the expenses of this armament, as well as of that which had already failed, he undertook, for the Irish directory, should be defrayed on the establishment of a republic in Ireland; and in these conferences, it appears to your committee, that it was strongly impressed upon the French directory to make the separation of Ireland from the kindom of Great Britain an indispensable condition of any treaty of peace which might be concluded in consequence of the negotiation which then depended at Lisle. The better to impress his arguments, a second written memoir was presented by the said M'Nevin, enforcing, as strongly as he could, everything which he had theretofore urged to encourage the invasion of this kingdom by a French force, and to induce the directory of the French Republic to continue the war with Great Britain until Ireland should be separated from the British crown; and it appears that M'Nevin was further instructed to negotiate a loan of half a million in France or Spain for the Irish directory, on the security of the revolution which they meditated, but that in this object of his mission he failed altogether. It appears that immediately after the negotiation at Lisle was broken off, information of it was sent from France to the Irish directory, with assurances that the French government would never abandon the cause of the Irish Union, nor make peace with Great Britain, until the separation of Ireland from the British crown was

effected, and with fresh assurances of a speedy invasion, which have frequently been renewed since that period. It appears that the said M'Nevin returned to this kingdom in October, 1797, when he made his report to the Irish directory of the result of his mission, and that they might rely with confidence on the promised succours from France; and it has also appeared that, in July or August, 1797, the Irish directory received a despatch from their minister at Paris, announcing the Dutch armament in the Texel, intended against this kingdom, which was baffled and discomfited by the ever-memorable and persevering valour of the British fleet commanded by Lord Duncan. It appears that three several despatches have been received by the Irish directory from their minister at Paris, since October, 1797; the two first contained a renewal generally of the former assurances of friendship and support given by the directory of the French Republic; the last announced that the projected invasion of Ireland would be made in the month of April, 1798. And it appears that a despatch for the directory of the French republic, earnestly pressing for the promised succours, was made up by the Irish directory, late in December, 1797, or early in January, 1798, which one of them undertook to have conveyed to France, but that the attempt failed. It has been stated to your committee by one of the rebel directory of Ireland, who was privy to this act of treason, that the despatch was not to be sent through Great Britain, but he did not explain to your committee any reason on which this assertion was founded, nor any other route by which this messenger was to make his way to France".*

The account given of the negotiations in 1797, in the Memoir of M'Nevin, Emmet, and O'Connor, is to the following effect:—

"In November, 1796, an agent, a native of France, from the French Republic, arrived in Ireland, and communicated to the directory the intention of the French government to send the assistance required, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition; and in the month of December following the attempt at invasion was made at Bantry Bay".

One of the principal causes of its signal miscarriage was attributed by the directory of the United Irishmen to the circumstance of being left by the French government in total ignorance of the part of the coast where the descent was to be made. Arthur O'Connor, however, stated to me, in 1842, there were two persons then living who had a knowledge of the place where the disembarkation was originally intended to have been effected.

"In March, 1797, another agent, Mr. Lewins, an attorney

* Lords' Secret Committee Report.

of Dublin, had been sent by the directory to France, to press on the government the fulfilment of its promise of another expedition, and to affect a loan of half a million. The difficulties, however, of the French government at this period stood in the way of the success of the application, and another agent, Dr. M'Nevin, was despatched in the month of June, to impress on the French government the immediate necessity of granting the succour that had been applied for. Dr. M'Nevin was unable to proceed beyond Hamburg, where he communicated—imprudently—in writing to the French minister the object of his mission. The force required was 10,000 men, at the most, and 5,000 at the least, and about 40,000 stand of arms. Dr. M'Nevin, after some time, was allowed to proceed to Paris, and there renewed with the government the solicitations of the directory for immediate assistance. Dr. M'Nevin returned to Ireland in October, 1797, when he reported to the directory the result of his mission—that they might rely with confidence on the promised succours from France. Lewins remained in Paris, the accredited agent of the directory. In July or August, 1797, the directory received a communication from him, announcing the Dutch armament in the Texel, intended for Ireland, being about to be despatched. That expedition, however, was totally discomfited by the British fleet under Lord Duncan. The last application for French succour was attempted to be made in January, 1798, but that attempt failed; and the last communication from Lewins to the directory, with the new promise of assistance, was in the latter part of 1797, stating that an invasion of Ireland would take place in the month of April, 1798".

Lord Malmesbury's Diplomatic Missions in 1796 and 1797.

The French expedition for the coast of Ireland in 1796, and the Dutch one, with a similar destination, in 1797, had a pacific influence on Mr. Pitt, which may fairly be inferred to have been the occasion of Lord Malmesbury's mission to Paris in 1796, and to Lisle in 1797. In the recent remarkable work, entitled "Diary and Correspondence of Lord Malmesbury",*we have a very detailed account of both missions, but, strange to say, not a syllable is to be found in his journals or letters either of the Brest expedition under Hoche, which was preparing for departure while his lordship was in Paris in close underhand communication with Talleyrand, except a memorandum, dated the 13th November, in relation to the unimportant circumstance of its being reported that eleven sail of the line were ready for

* The Diary and Correspondence of James Harris, first Earl of Malmesbury, edited by his grandson. Vols. I-III. London, 1844.

sea, and from fifteen to twenty thousand men embarked, and that the expedition meditated an attempt on Ireland.

His lordship arrived early in October, 1796, in Paris, at the precise time Hoche was hurrying on his preparations at Brest. His instructions, he states, were to make earnest overtures to the French government to put an end to the war. The directory then consisted of Barras, Rewbell, La Reveillere Lepaux, Carnot,* and Letourneur. Barthelemy was added to the list in the following year. Two of the directory are said to have been traitors to their country, and in treasonable communication then and previously with the English government.

The Brest expedition, consisting of seventeen sail of the line, thirteen frigates, and 15,000 men, sailed on the 17th December, and on the 19th Lord Malmesbury was ordered to quit Paris within twenty-four hours.

The dismissal of the negotiator, however, was too late to prevent the secret of Hoche's expedition being communicated to England, and effectual means taken to disconcert the plans of Hoche. But not one word on the subject do we find in the "Diary and Correspondence of Lord Malmesbury." A secret agent of the French government, named Moutrand,† was placed at this time about Lord Malmesbury, "pour lui tirer les vers du nez", while his lordship had likewise his secret agents about the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, to ascertain the designs of the Irish ambassador, Theobald Wolfe Tone, and to prevent the latter from counteracting his efforts to negotiate a peace. Tone did effectually counteract his lordship's efforts, but the latter, in his turn, enabled his government to counteract the most formidable plans that were ever formed for the separation of Ireland from England.

This was one of the occasions "when in one line two crafts directly meet", and we eventually have "the engineer hoist with his own petard".

In June, 1797, Lord Malmesbury was again despatched by Mr. Pitt to Lisle, to treat for peace with the French government. The Dutch expedition intended for the invasion of Ireland was then preparing in the Scheldt, but not one syllable do we find about it in those journals and correspondence, which are crammed with such minute diplomatic details on almost every other subject of continental importance. The mutiny in the fleet at the Nore,

* Lazare Nicolas Marguerite Carnot, surnamed "the organiser of Victory," was a member of the Legislative Assembly, and being entrusted with the defences of the country, he raised fourteen armies, and drew up a plan of campaign which proved highly successful. In 1797 he opposed the extreme measures of Barras, and was sentenced to transportation as a royalist.

† Moutrand died in Paris in 1843.

then existing, is mentioned by his lordship on the eve of his setting out. In the month of July the Minister for Foreign Affairs was Talleyrand.* Two of the directory are said by French historians to have been traitors to their country; and though Malmesbury does not say so, it is confidently affirmed by well informed French people, that Carnot and Barthelemy were in the pay of England.

The French ministers sent by the directory to Lisle to treat with Lord Malmesbury, were Le Tourneur, Pleville le Pelley, and Maret; the latter had been officially employed in England, and was well acquainted with Mr. Pitt. Maret is plainly shown by Lord Malmesbury to have been the agent of some foreign power inimical to his country. He held constant clandestine communications with Lord Malmesbury through a British resident at Lisle, a Mr. Cunningham, and also a relative of Maret's a Monsieur Pein. In the first interview between Pein and Mr. Wesley, one of the attaches of the British Minister, on the part of Lord Malmesbury, the former stated that "Maret was the intimate friend of Barthelemy, through whose means he had been appointed one of the ministers to treat for peace with England, and therefore his sentiments could not be doubted, as it was well known Barthelemy was sincerely desirous for the restoration of peace. Mr. Pein added that Maret had his suspicions with respect to the intentions of the directory". In plain English, Maret and Barthelemy were traitors to their own government. It is a curious circumstance that upwards of two years before the publication of "Lord Malmesbury's Memoirs", from which this account is taken, I mentioned, on the authority of one of Tone's northern friends, Mr. Jordan, living in Liverpool in 1842, in the former edition of this work, that a nobleman, one of the Irish Privy Councillors, had confidentially stated, in 1797, that the English government was in possession of all the projects of the United Irishmen then carrying on in Holland through one of the French directory—Barthelemy.

Thiers says—"Carnot et Barthelemy votaient pour, qu'on acceptat les conditions de l'Angleterre les trois autres directeurs soutenaient l'opinion contraire".

Talleyrand all this time, we find from Mr. Canning's communications to Lord Malmesbury and Mr. Ellis, was in secret correspondence with English agents. He alludes to Talleyrand's letters against his own government and

* Charles Maurice Talleyrand de Perigord, Prince de Benevent. Born in 1754, Abbot of St. Denis, 1775, Bishop of Autun, 1789, member of the States-General, Foreign Minister under the directory, one of the most shamelessly corrupt, immoral, selfish and mendacious characters in the history of the eighteenth century. He was one of the most amazingly clever diplomats of his generation, and contributed no small share to the glory of French conquest under Napoleon.

colleagues, to Mr. Smith, and states, at page 453, vol. ii., that Barthelemy was at this period largely gambling in the English funds. In a letter of Talleyrand's, quoted by Canning, addressed to Robert Smith, Esq., dated 27th July, 1797, he says, respecting the negotiations at Lille, and the warlike plans of Charles Delacroix—"My wish is good, but I have a great deal to do—must take patience—adieu".—Vol. iii., p. 457. We find no reference in Lord Malmesbury's journals to the proposal of a bribe to one of the directory made to Charles Delacroix, in 1796, by his lordship, as we are informed by Thiers, in his "History of the Revolution".

Lord Malmesbury, in his diary, 19th August, says, "Mr. Melville, of Boston, in America, makes the same offer as to Barras". In a note referring to this sentence, it is said that "a person named Potter came to Lord M. at the beginning of the negotiation, stating that he was sent by Barras to say that if the government would pay that director £100,000, he would insure the peace. Lord M., believing the offer to be unauthorized by Barras, or only a trap laid for him by the directory, paid no attention to it".—"Memoirs, etc., of Earl of Malmesbury".

About the same time Lord Malmesbury received an anonymous letter from Paris, bearing very strong marks of Talleyrand's composition, setting forth the exertions the writer was making to promote English views in the government.

Of Maret's treason to his country no doubt is left. Even the private signals are detailed which were established between him and Lord Malmesbury, to be made at the conferences between the negotiators and his lordship, for the purpose of deceiving Maret's colleagues, the other two French negotiators. "The sign agreed upon was Maret's taking his handkerchief out of one pocket and returning it into the other".—Vol. iii., p. 451.

In the various records of baseness which are to be found in the Harris Papers, there is one of an Abbe Dumontel, who wrote to Lord Malmesbury, stating that he was connected with the British Minister at Stuttgard, Mr. Drake, who was implicated in Pichegru's conspiracy against the French government, and was turned out of the country in consequence of the disclosure. Lord Malmesbury refused to see him, and it turned out that the Abbe was an agent of the government employed to entrap Lord Malmesbury. Another priest, a British subject, a Jesuit in the pay of the British government, communicated also with his lordship, but no particulars are given of the mission of this reverend gentleman. Early in September, 1797, two of the Directors implicated in Pichegru's conspiracy, Carnot and Barthelemy, were banished, and the fact of British diplomatic agents being engaged in that conspiracy, while another British

diplomatist was negotiating a peace with the same government, which Maret's agents were conspiring to overthrow, caused the negotiations at Lisle to be broken off, and on the 18th of September Lord Malmesbury set out for England. There is a complete silence in his journals respecting the expedition for Ireland then preparing in the Scheldt; but it cannot be doubted that his lordship made good use of his time, and laid the train for that unaccountable catastrophe which put an end to that expedition. On the 9th of October, Admiral Winter, without rhyme or reason, in sight of a British fleet of superior force, put to sea, and on the 11th, after a hard-fought action with Admiral Duncan, off Camperdown, the Dutch admiral, with almost all his fleet, was captured.

At the end of the negotiations in 1797, Lord Malmesbury writes to Mr. Pitt, that "the violent revolution which has taken place in Paris, has overset all our hopes, and defeated all our reasonings. I consider it as the most unlucky event that could have happened". The naivete of this language is very amusing. The violent revolution complained of was nothing more than the detection of a foul conspiracy planned in England, and assisted abroad by British official agents. The detection of the two traitors in the Directory, who were privy to it, which Lord Malmesbury so pathetically laments the consequences of, was occasioned by the discovery of the papers at Venice of the chief conspirator—agent d'etrangeres, in reference to which discovery Lord Malmesbury expresses his fears that "all Wickham's attempts to produce a counter-revolution would come out in the latter". He observes likewise, "Pichegru,* who was chief of the royalist conspiracy, was to receive, as the price of a restoration, the baton of a marshal, the governorship of Alsace, the chateau of Chambord, £40,000 in money, and £8,000 a year".

The course pursued by Mr. Pitt at this time was somewhat singular. He had a minister negotiating a peace at Lisle, he had another at Stuttgard conspiring to upset the government he was treating with; and a third agent elsewhere, the disclosure of whose attempts Lord Malmesbury seemed to apprehend as an affair that would be disgraceful to his government; and, strange to say, this very conspiracy, which Wickham and Drake were labouring to make successful, proved "the most unlucky event (to British interests) that could have happened".

* * * *

* Pichegru died a prisoner in the Temple, in February 1804. He was an active agent of the Bourbon Party in the conspiracy to assassinate Napoleon. Ed.

MAJOR SANDYS torturing PURCELL & his SON. June 1798

(From Cox's Magazine).

CHAPTER XI.

Military Organization of the United Irishmen.

The military organization was engrafted on the civil, and originated in Ulster about the latter end of 1796, and in Leinster at the beginning of 1797. On the 19th of February, 1798, the provincial committee of the latter passed a resolution, "that they would not be diverted from their purpose by anything which could be done in parliament", and this resolution was communicated to the directory. By the new organization, the civil officers received military titles: the secretary of each society of twelve was called a petty officer, each delegate of five societies a captain, having sixty men under his command, and the delegate of ten lower baronial societies was usually the colonel: each battalion being composed of six hundred men. The colonels of each county sent in the names of three persons to the directory, one of whom was appointed by it adjutant-general of the county, who communicated directly with the executive. The total number of members of the union who had taken the test amounted to 500,000; the total number capable of bearing arms, and counted on by the directory as an available force, was from 280,000 to 300,000.

A military committee was appointed by the Dublin executive in February, 1798; its duty was to prepare a plan of co-operation with the French when they should land, or of insurrection, in case they should be forced to it before the arrival of the French, which the directory was determined, if possible, to avoid. In the memoir delivered to the Irish government by Messrs. Emmet, O'Connor, and M'Nevin, it is stated that none of them "were members of the united system until September or October of the year 1796". Emmet became a member of the directory in the month of January, 1797, and continued to act in it till the month of May; he was again appointed to it in the month of December, and continued to belong to it till the 12th of March, 1798, when the arrests took place. Dr. M'Nevin became a member of the new organization in September or October, 1796; having previously been secretary to the executive directory, he became a member of it about November, 1797, and continued to be one until March, 1798. Arthur O'Connor became a United Irishman, and a member of the directory, in November, 1796, and continued to belong to it until January, 1798, when he left Ireland, and his place in the directory was then filled up. Oliver Bond became a member of the northern executive, and, in 1797, was elected a member of the directory-general, but declined to act

officially, continuing, however, to be in its confidence, and to be consulted with on all affairs of moment. Richard M'Cormick, a stuff manufacturer of Mark's Alley, formerly secretary of the Catholic Committee, was the other member of the directory, though not ostensibly or by specific appointment belonging to it. At one period Lord Cloncurry was a member of the directory, but states that he took no active part in its proceedings.

Though a national committee was a part of the plan of the original organization, the election of national delegates did not take place till the beginning of December, 1797, and then only partially.

There was no detailed plan of organization formed by the Dublin directory previously to March, 1798. There was one drawn up in April or May, 1797, for the north, but the plan was given up, and the writing destroyed.

With respect to the entire force armed throughout the country, as estimated by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, when a rising was eventually determined on in the month of May, 1798, the particulars are specified in a document presented by Lord Edward to that man whose name and notoriety are never likely to be forgotten, in his own country at least—to Mr. Thomas Reynolds the informer. The document referred to is dated 26th February, 1798.

	Armed Men.	Finances in hand.
Ulster ...	110,990	£436 2 4
Munster ...	100,634	147 17 2
Kildare ...	10,863	110 17 7
Wicklow ...	12,895	93 6 4
Dublin ...	3,010	37 2 6
Dublin City ...	2,177	321 17 11
Queen's County	11,689	91 2 1
King's County	3,600	21 11 3
Carlow ...	9,414	49 2 10
Kilkenny ...	624	10 2 3
Meath ...	1,400	171 2 1
Total ...	279,896	£1,485 4 9

By this document it would appear that the total number of armed men throughout the country was estimated by Lord Edward at 279,896.

But from another source, and one whose authenticity is unquestionable, the writer has reason to know that Lord Edward imagined that when once he had raised the standard of revolt, 100,000 effective men only might be immediately expected to rally round it.

Lord Edward's precise views on the subject of the rising of the people, have never been given to the public; they are

now laid before it, in the following memorandum of a conversation with one who possessed his entire confidence, who communicated with him on the subject of the contemplated rising immediately before its intended outbreak, and who fruitlessly endeavoured to dissuade him from it. On the accuracy of the information given respecting this matter, the most implicit confidence may be reposed. The person in question, W. M., met Lord E. Fitzgerald by appointment at the Shakespeare Gallery, Exchequer Street, about one month before the arrests in March, to confer with the delegates from the different counties respecting the projected rising. After Lord Edward had received the different reports of the number of men ready for the field in the different counties, he called on the gentleman above referred to for his opinion. Lord Edward said, "he deeply regretted his friend should have withdrawn himself so long from any active interference in the business of the Union, and that one in whose judgment he so much confided should stand aloof at such a moment: if he unfortunately persisted in so doing, the friends of the Union might be led to imagine he had deserted them in the hour of need; that he, Lord Fitzgerald, had determined on an immediate and general rising of the people, their impatience for which was no longer to be restrained, nor, with advantage to the cause, to be resisted". He then appealed to the delegates for the truth of this assertion, and his opinion was confirmed by them. His friend, it is well to state, had withdrawn himself from the Union about the beginning of the year, when the system was changed from a civil to a military organization. He could only regard this change as one likely to direct the attention of their opponents to their proceedings. In fact, the people had not been sworn in exclusively at this time, except in the North, and no great danger was apprehended by the government from them. But when the system was changed, and secretaries, and chairmen, and delegates, were called captains, and colonels, and adjutant-generals, a military aspect was given to the business of the Union, the government became necessarily alarmed, and recourse was had to spies and informers. The danger of this course was obvious to W. M., and to all those who felt that any premature display of military preparation must prove fatal to their cause. In any similar combination, W. M., and T. A. Emmet thought the people should be left alone, and that the system only needed to be previously well organized among the leaders, and, in due time, the people would rise if they felt themselves oppressed. W. M. particularly deprecated the want of caution in the leaders, in confiding in strangers, and speaking and writing rashly and intemperately on the subject of the Union. On the Sunday

previous to the arrests, W. M. had declined an introduction to Reynolds, at Jackson's in Church Street, notwithstanding M'Cann's recommendation of him as "one of the best and honestest men in the Union". He had avoided Reynolds, because he did not like his character. He informed Lord Edward, though he had taken no part for some time in the affairs of the Union, he did not cease to give his opinion when consulted, and especially by Lord Edward, though he was well aware, when once his lordship had made up his mind on a point, he was little influenced by the counsel of any man. When Lord Edward had spoken of his deserting the cause, the latter felt hurt at his observation, and replied in strong terms that he had not deserted the cause of the people, nor betrayed their cause; but those people had done so, who had precipitated measures prematurely taken, which did not afford the least promise of success. "My lord", said he, "I am not a person to desert a cause in which I have embarked. I knew the dangers of it when I joined it: were those dangers only for myself, or the friends about me, I am not the man to be deterred by the consideration of what may happen to myself or them—we might fall, but the cause might not fail; and, so long as the country was served, it would matter little; but when I know the step that you are taking will involve that cause in the greatest difficulties, my fears are great—I tremble for the result. My lord, all the services that you or your noble house have ever rendered to the country, or ever can render to it, will never make amends to the people for the misery and wretchedness the failure of your present plans will cause them". "I tell you", replied Lord Edward impetuously, "the chances of success are greatly in favour of our attempt: examine these papers —here are returns which show that one hundred thousand armed men may be counted on to take the field". "My lord", replied Mr. M., "it is one thing to have a hundred thousand men on paper, and another in the field. A hundred thousand men on paper will not furnish fifty thousand in array. I, for one, am enrolled amongst the number; but I candidly tell you, you will not find me in your ranks. You know for what objects we joined this union, and what means we reckoned on for carrying them into effect. Fifteen thousand Frenchmen were considered essential to our undertaking. If they were so at that time, still more so are they now, when our warlike aspect has caused the government to pour troops into the country". "What!" said Lord Edward, "would you attempt nothing without these fifteen thousand men—would you not be satisfied with ten thousand?" "I would, my lord", replied his friend, "if the aid of the fifteen could not be procured".

"But", continued Lord Edward, "if even the ten could not be got, what would you do then?"

"I would then accept of five, my lord", was the reply.

"But", said Lord Edward, fixing his eyes with great earnestness on him, "we cannot get five thousand, and with respect to the larger force we originally wished for, had we succeeded with so large a body of French troops, we might have found it difficult enough to get rid of our allies". To this it was replied, "My lord, if we found it possible to get rid of our enemies, ten times as numerous as our allies, we could have little difficulty in getting rid of the latter when necessity required it".

"But, I tell you we cannot", said Lord Edward, "get even the five thousand you speak of, and when you know that we cannot, will you desert our cause?" The eyes of the delegates were turned on the person thus addressed. He felt that Lord Edward had put the matter in such a light before those present, that he would have been branded as a traitor if he abandoned the cause while there was a ray of hope for its success.

"My lord", said he, "if five thousand men could not be obtained, I would seek the assistance of a sufficient number of French officers to head our people, and with three hundred of these, perhaps we might be justified in making an effort for independence, but not without them. What military men have we of our own to lead our unfortunate people into action against a disciplined army?"

Lord Edward ridiculed the idea of there being anything like discipline at that time in the English army. "Besides the numbers", he said, "of the United Irishmen would more than counterbalance any superiority in the discipline of their enemies".

"My lord", said his friend, "we must not be deceived; they are disciplined, and our people are not: if the latter are repulsed and broken, who is to reform their lines? Once thrown into disorder, the greater their numbers the greater will be the havoc made amongst them".

Lord Edward said, "without risking a general engagement, he would be able to get possession of Dublin".

"Suppose you did, my lord", was the reply, "the possession of the capital would not insure success; and even when you had taken the city, if the citizens asked to see the army of their brave deliverers, which might be encamped in the Phœnix Park, the citizens would naturally expect to see some military evolutions performed, some sort of military array, exhibited on such an occasion. Who would there be, my lord, to put the people through these evolutions? What officers have you to teach them one military manœuvre; and if they were suddenly attacked by an army in the rere, what leader accustomed to the field have you to bring them with any advantage to the attack? You, my lord, are the only military man amongst us, but you cannot be everywhere

you are required; and the misfortune is, you delegate your authority to those whom you think are like yourself: but they are not like you: we have no such persons amongst us".

The delegates here assented to the justice of these remarks, declaring that the proposal for the aid of the French officers was a reasonable one, and they were proceeding to remonstrate, when Lord Edward impatiently reminded them that they had no assistance to expect from France, and that, consequently, the determination had been come to, to prepare the country for an immediate rising.

Lord Edward and his friend, nevertheless, parted with the same feelings of cordiality and confidence in each other that had always subsisted between them.

That remarkable person, one of the profoundest thinkers of his time, who knew the young lord better than any of his associates, the late W. M., says: "Lord Edward was the noblest-minded of human beings. He had no deceit, no selfishness, no meanness, no duplicity in his nature; he was all frankness, openness, and generosity; but he was not the man to conduct a revolution to a successful issue. That man was Thomas Addis Emmet". Perhaps if he had said the men to effect that object were Arthur O'Connor and Thomas Addis Emmet, provided they could have acted through such a struggle, and to its end, in concert and with singleness of purpose, his opinion might be better founded.

For nearly four years the leaders of the United Irishmen went on conspiring, secretly, as they thought, directing all their machinery to bear on one point, organization. This mania for organizing seems to have taken possession of the minds of the leaders, of all intellectual grades, with few exceptions. This organization was a work of supererogation; there was no need of it; it was very essential and useful to the spies and informers, the agents of the system of terror; the scourgers and the hangmen got many a good stroke of work by it. This system of organizing was not calculated to escape notice or to baffle detection. It tended directly to excite suspicion; and while its machinery of passwords and secret signs induced a false security and confidence in ability to keep treasonable plans concealed; it ultimately and almost invariably led to discovery. There was too much military theorizing in this organizing system, and political economy mingled with bluster and braggadacio; and there was too little knowledge of the country, and of human nature, and of common sense, in the means taken of giving a military character all at once to a people unhabituated to arms, but always ready to handle any weapon in their way in a cause which they had at heart. There was too much marching and countermarching to and fro, from baronial to baronial—too much marshalling of men on paper, vapouring in newspapers, barking where the parties could

not bite, to lead to any other result than that of nurturing agents for the destruction of confiding parties in the bosom of their societies. Even the man of most mind in that conspiracy, Thomas Addis Emmet, was lamentably mistaken in his view of the matchless fidelity of the members of the Union. One man of infamous celebrity, at a later date, in the society of the United Irishmen, of most importance as an informer, was only then suspected by Emmet; but in the lapse of years the facts which have transpired in relation to the question of the continuance or discontinuance of pensions, and the nature of the services for which they had been granted, have brought the names of individuals connected with the society, whose fidelity to it was considered by its leaders as beyond all suspicion, into juxtaposition with those of Messrs. Reynolds and Armstrong; and in this catalogue of treachery, the names of persons are to be found who were at the same time the prominent partizans—nay, the professional advocates— of the party committed in this unfortunate struggle, and the secret agents and paid servants of the government, employed as spies on their own accomplices and companions. The treason of these men to their comrades, no doubt, was serviceable to government—nay more, beneficial to the country itself; but the traitors were despicable, even then, in the sight of their employers, and cannot be otherwise now in the eyes of their successors. Every important proceeding of the United Irishmen was known to government. Lord Clare acknowledged, in a debate in the English House of Lords, in 1801, that "the United Irishmen who negotiated with the Irish government in 1798, had disclosed nothing which the king's ministers were not acquainted with before". Then why did they suffer the conspiracy to go on ? To promote rebellion, for the purpose of breaking down the strength of the country, in order to effect the unpopular measure of the Union. Carnot, the director, in August, 1797, told Dr. M'Nevin, that the policy of Mr. Pitt was known to the Directory; "that a union was Mr. Pitt's object in his vexatious treatment of Ireland".*

In Emmet's examination before the secret committee of the House of Lords, he was asked by Lord Clare: "Did you not think the government very foolish to let you proceed so long as you did ?" To which Emmet replied: "No, my lord; whatever I imputed to government, I did not accuse them of folly; I knew we were very attentively watched".†

But Emmet did not know that, however cautious they had been, the most secret proceedings of the directors had been disclosed to government, even prior to the application to

* Vide "Memoir of the Examination of the State Prisoners", &c.
† Ibid.

France for assistance; and the knowledge of their negotiation with foreign states, we are told by M'Nevin, was in full possession of government, and that "knowledge was obtained by some person in the pay of England and the confidence of France".

The memoir which the Irish directory had addressed to the French government, demanding military assistance, in 1797, with which Dr. M'Nevin was charged, the same gentleman was astonished to find an authentic copy of, in the hands of Mr. Cooke, the Irish secretary in 1798.

The betrayers of their society were not the poor or inferior members of it; some of them were high in the confidence of the directory; others not sworn in, but trusted with its concerns, learned in the law, social in their habits, liberal in their politics, prodigal in their expenses, needy in their circumstances, and therefore covetous of money; loose in their public and private principles, therefore open to temptation.

The want of faith, however, was not alone on the side of the disaffected; in the closets of the most influential friends and agents of government, there existed channels of communication with the leaders of the United Irishmen, by means of which the most important measures of the administration were made known to the directory, and to others in the confidence of its members, which frequently baffled the designs of government, and disconcerted the plans of the law officers of the crown, in the course of the proceedings instituted against the members of this society.

Arthur O'Connor, on his examination before the secret committee of the House of Lords, stated that 'minute information of every act of the Irish government was obtained by the executive directory".*

A person in the employment of government, necessarily entrusted with all important matters, was habitually visited by two members of the society, and when measures of moment to it were under consideration, the knowledge of them was obtained from this source.

On one occasion, when this official was waited on by these members of the society (persons of unquestionable veracity, from one of whom, Mr. W. M——, I have this statement), they were warned to be silent on certain subjects, that a dangerous man was in the adjoining room, and that person was Mr. Walter Cox. With which party he was then most heartily disposed to play fast and loose, it would be difficult to say, but Cox, at that period, was the editor of an infamous journal called "The Union Star", which advocated the assassination of the persons supposed to be obnoxious to the United Irishmen; and that journal, which professed to be

* Vide "Memoirs of the Examination", &c.

established for the especial advocacy of their cause, had been repeatedly repudiated by the society, and its principles denounced in "The Press", the organ of the United Irishmen: yet Cox never ceased to possess the confidence of Arthur O'Connor and many others of the leaders.

The fact seems to have escaped the notice both of the government and of the United Irishmen, that, on whatever side there is a deviation from humane, moderate, and justifiable proceedings, there is no confidence to be reposed in the fidelity of the agency employed in promoting violent or unlawful measures. The administration of that day had not the slightest suspicion that many of the most important measures which it meditated, and some of its most secret designs, were known to the directory of the United Irishmen; but that such was the fact there is unquestionable evidence—the evidence of members of that directory—of two of them especially, on whose veracity even Lord Clare had a perfect reliance.

There were channels of communication, the existence of which would now hardly be believed, between the agents of government and the emissaries of the United Irishmen. On Dr. M'Nevin's authority I am enabled to state, that amongst those who were privately known to be favourable to their views, was a member of the privy council and a general officer then serving in the army. The time has not yet come when more may be said on the subject; the general statement of the fact, however, ought to be made; and the lesson may be useful, whether it works upon the fears of tyranny or treason.

In the course of the inquiries connected with this work, it has come to the author's knowledge, that the expenses of the defence of the United Irishmen have been borne by officers of distinction at that period. In one case, I was informed by Bernard Duggan, a person deeply implicated in the rebellion, some of whose exploits are mentioned in Sir Richard Musgrave's history, that his life would have been forfeited, had it not been for the ample and timely pecuniary assistance sent him by an officer serving in that part of the country where he was then imprisoned, to whom he was utterly unknown. That assistance, which enabled him to procure legal assistance on his trial, was sent to him by a Colonel Lumm.

While Lord Edward Fitzgerald was concealed in the house of Murphy, we are informed by Mr. Moore, that he was in the habit of "receiving the visits of two or three persons, among whom were, if he was rightly informed, Major Plunkett and another military gentleman of the rank of colonel, named Lumm".*

* Vide "Lord E. Fitzgerald's Life and Death", by Moore, vol. ii., p. 50. American edition.

Teeling, in his "Personal Narrative of the Irish Rebellion", speaking of the persons who, in the relative situations in which they stood with the government, must have made great sacrifices and incurred considerable risk in communicating with the leaders of the United Irishmen, says, "I was one evening in conversation with Lord Edward, when Colonel L—— entered his apartment, accompanied by two gentlemen with whose persons I was unaquainted, but who, I have reason to believe, were members of the Irish legislature. The colonel, after embracing Lord Edward with the warmest affection, laid on his table a large canvas purse filled with gold, and smiling at his lordship, while he tapped him on the shoulder, 'There', said he; 'there, my lord, is provision for ———'. A few hours more would have placed Lord Edward at the head of the troops of Kildare".* In the month of May, 1798, Colonel Lumm was arrested in England, and brought to Dublin in custody of a king's messenger.

[Secret Intelligence from France. January, 1798. The French Rulers' fixed plan is:—Never to make peace with a King of England, but with an English Republic. The former plan was to make England, Scotland, and Ireland, a Federative Republic. By an improved resolution they are to be transformed in three distinct, separate and independent republics.

The Directory of England is to consist of Paine, Tooke, Sharpe, Thelwall, Lansdown. The Scotch Directory: Muir, Sinclair, Cameron, Simple, Laurderdale. The Irish Directory: N. Tandy, E. Fitzgerald, H. Rowan, A. O'Connor, and Racorner or Ocolmer.

Gallais is entrusted with the French plans to their full extent. He is destined to be the first French Ambassador to the English Republic.

Ed.]

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CHAPTER XII.

The use of Torture to Extort Confessions of Guilt of Treason, or Information against Suspected Persons, for the Premature Explosion and Suppression of the Rebellion.

Of all the barbarities that disgraced this calamitous conflict, whether on the part of ultra-loyalists, a licentious soldiery, or of infuriated rebels, the recurrence to the use of torture for the purpose of inspiring terror, of detecting crime, or of revenging wrongs, was the most atrocious. If this inhuman custom, now, happily, universally execrated and exploded in all civilized countries, had been only partially practised, and not systematically pursued; if the scene of its infliction had been in distant districts, in wild and lawless

* Vide "Teeling's Personal Narrative", &c., p. 117.

places, beyond the reach of the civil and judical powers, and not in the immediate vicinity of the seat of government itself; if the actors were persons of no distinction, of no rank in society, instead of functionaries exercising authority —whose proceedings, though denied, were never repudiated by it— the proceedings might be considered as the excesses which are usually the unfortunate concomitants of civil warfare. It would now be, not only a painful task, but a culpable act, to rake up the recollection of such enormities, if the denunciation of them were not calculated to prevent the possibility of their repetition.

The extraordinary fact, that the employment of torture in the suppression of the Irish Rebellion in 1798, called forth no general expression of public indignation in England, can only be accounted for by the political circumstances of the time, which made it necessary to keep the people of that country in ignorance of the means which had been adopted to effect a measure which they were taught to consider so advantageous to their interests as the Union.

* * * *

The employment of torture, as an ordinary mode of proceeding in the examination of suspected rebels in 1798, has never been denied, except by Lord Castlereagh in a qualified form. It has been openly avowed and defended by members of the Irish government, by the perpetrators of it, and by their advocates in parliament. In the debate in the English House of Commons, in March, 1801, on the Irish Martial Law Bill, in reply to an observation with respect to the use of torture, made by Mr. Taylor, Lord Castlereagh had certainly the boldness to affirm, that "torture never was inflicted in Ireland, with the knowledge, authority, or approbation of government". Mr. John Claudius Beresford, who was the most competent of all men to speak on that subject, observed, that "it was unmanly to deny torture, as it was notoriously practised"; and in a subsequent debate in the House of Lords, on another occasion, in the imperial parliament, Lord Clare avowed the practice, and defended it on the grounds of its necessity. But the intemperate zeal of Sir Richard Musgrave, the unscrupulous advocate of Lord Castlereagh's policy (for it was chiefly during his connection with government that these tortures were inflicted), carried him to the extent of not only attributing the suppression of the rebellion to the use of torture, but even of defending it on the authority of no less a person than the humane and enlightened Marquis of Beccaria,* whose words in reference

* Beccaria, an Italian Noble, published a volume in 1764, entitled "Dei Delitti e delle Pene", in which he argues against capital punishment and torture.

to punishments, he cites in defence of this practice, and, true to his ruling passion, perverts the meaning of his authority to suit his purpose. The following are the words he quotes: "Among a people hardly yet emerged from barbarity, punishments should be more severe, as strong impressions are required". Little did the benevolent Beccaria imagine that a line of his admirable book should ever be cited by such a man as Musgrave in support of his sanguinary sentiments !

It did not suit the purpose of this writer to cite Beccaria's express condemnation of the use of torture, as an absurd as well as a barbarous mode of eliciting truth or of detecting crime. "To discover the truth", says Beccaria, "by this method, is a problem which may be better solved by a mathematician than by a judge; and it may be thus stated: The force of the muscles and the sensibility of the nerves of an innocent person being given, it is required to find the degree of pain necessary to make him confess himself guilty of a crime".

But Beccaria's condemnation of torture was not wanted in these countries, to prohibit its infliction, in any circumstances and under any form. Blackstone might have informed Lord Clare, when he acknowledged its employment, or Musgrave, when he defended its infliction, that "the trial by rack is utterly unknown to the law of England": or these men might have learned from another legal authority, Lord Ellenborough, in the debate of 1801, on the Irish Martial Law Bill, "that it cannot but be known to everyone, that neither martial law, nor any other law, human or divine, can justify or authorize its infliction".

The reasoning of Sir Richard Musgrave on the advantages of torture and the beneficial effects of its infliction, will appear to the people of England more indicative of the wisdom of our ancestors in the eleventh or twelfth century, than of the humanization of their posterity in the eighteenth or nineteenth age. In a chapter of his "History of the Rebellion", entitled "Observations on Whipping and Free Quarters", we find the following statement: "To disarm the disaffected was impossible, because their arms were concealed; and to discover all the traitors was equally so, because they were bound by oaths of secrecy, and the strongest sanction of their religion, not to impeach their fellow-traitors. But suppose the fullest information could be obtained of the guilt of every individual, it would have been impracticable to arrest and commit the multitude. Some men of discernment and fortitude perceived that some new expident must be adopted to prevent the subversion of government and the destruction of society, and whipping

was resorted to".* The men of "discernment and fortitude" included Sir Richard Musgrave himself, Mr. John Claudius Beresford, Sir John Judkin Fitzgerald, the High Sheriff of Tipperary, Hunter Gowan, Hawtrey White, Archibald Jacob Hamilton, and James Boyd, magistrates of the County Wexford, Lord Kingston, Messrs. Hepenstal, Love, and Sandys, several military gentlemen, and a host of subordinate functionaries, many of whom were liberally rewarded, pensioned, and promoted, for the very services which Lord Castlereagh denied all knowledge of in the British House of Commons.

The sentiments of Sir Richard Musgrave are, unfortunately, still those of a great portion of his party in Ireland, with whom the doctrine, "salus factionis suprema lex", prevails over every other obligation.

"That man", says Musgrave, "who would balance between the slightest infractions of the constitution in inflicting a few stripes on the body of a perjured traitor,† and the loss of many lives and much property, must renounce all pretensions to wisdom and patriotism.

"As to the violation of the forms of the law by this practice, it should be recollected that the law of nature, which suggested the necessity of it, supersedes all positive institutions, as it is imprinted on the heart of man for the preservation of his creatures—as it speaks strongly and instinctively, and as its end will be baffled by the slowness of deliberation".†

At Castle Otway, in the County of Tipperary, the champion of torture instances the necessity and efficacy of this measure: "Cook Otway, Esq. (says Sir Richard), a gentleman noted for his loyalty, was the most active person in the County Tipperary, next to Colonel Fitzgerald, in putting down rebellion, for which he was afterwards persecuted. He raised a yeomanry corps, but was afterwards obliged to disband the Popish members, as they had taken the United Irishmen's oath. The preservation of the metropolis from carnage, plunder, and conflagration, must in a great measure be imputed to it, as traitors, on being whipped, revealed the most important secrets, and confessed where great quantities of arms were concealed". What other evidence can be required to prove the general practice of torture at this period, and the extent of the evil which

* Musgrave's "History of the Irish Rebellion", appendix, p. 178.

† During the period of the Whiteboy outrages, when Sir Richard Musgrave was high sheriff of the County Waterford, finding some difficulty in procuring an executioner to inflict the punishment of whipping on a Whiteboy, he performed the office himself, and with all the zeal of an amateur.

imposed the embarrassing necessity on Lord Castlereagh of making a solemn denial of all knowledge of its existence? The fact of its existence, indeed, could not be denied, for his own colleagues admitted it. The existence of it, then, even without his knowledge, left the character of the government open to the charge of extraordinary remissness, for it certainly was the duty of the leading member of that government to have made himself acquainted with the measures which were taken for the suppression of that rebellion, and it was his duty to have protected the people against the violation of the laws on the part of the subordinate agents of government. The rebellion did not break out till May, 1798, and, to use the memorable words of Lord Castlereagh, even then "measures were taken by government to cause its premature explosion": words which include the craft, cruelty, and cold-blooded, deliberate wickedness of the politics of a Machiavelli, the principles of a Thug, and the perverted tastes and feelings of an eunuch, in the exercise of power, and authority, displayed in acts of sly malignity, and stealthy, vindictive turpitude, perpetrated on pretence of serving purposes of state.

So early as 1797, Grattan described such acts as having been practised by Lord Camden's government in Ireland:—

"The Convention Bill, the Gunpowder Bill, the Indemnity Bill, the second Indemnity Bill, the Insurrection Bill, the suspension of the habeas corpus, General Lake's proclamation by order of government, the approbation afforded to that proclamation, the subsequent proclamation of government, more military and decisive; the order to the military to act without waiting for the civil power; the imprisonment of the middle orders without law; the detaining them in prison without bringing them to trial; the transporting them without law; burning their houses; burning their villages; murdering them; crimes, many of which are public, and many committed which are concealed by the suppression of a free press by military force; the preventing the legal meetings of counties to petition his majesty, by orders acknowledged to be given to the military to disperse them, subverting the subjects' right to petition; and finally, the introduction of practices not only unknown to law, but unknown to civilized and Christian countries. Such has been the working of the borough system; nor could such measures have taken place but for the system".* The perfect despotism that then existed in Ireland, Grattan said had produced universal disgust, discontent, and indignation. A member of the government had threatened the opposition for denouncing that system of coercion. He said: "In former times half a million had been expended to break down an

* Grattan's "Address to His Fellow-Citizens". 1797.

opposition: half a million more might have been expended in breaking down another". The parliament was to be corrupted, the people to be coerced. The governmental agent of coercion was sent forth to put down discontent. "He destroyed liberty; he consumed the press; he burned houses—and he failed. Recall your murderer, we said, and in his place despatch our messenger—try conciliation. You have declared you wish the people should rebel; to which we answer, God forbid ! Rather let them weary the royal ear with petitions,and let the dove be again sent to the king; it may bring back the olive; and as to you, thou mad minister ! who pour in regiment after regiment to dragoon the Irish, because you have forfeited their affections, we beseech, we supplicate, we admonish, reconcile the people. Combat revolution by reform: let blood be your last experiment".

The author of a recent publication, under the signature of "A Country Gentleman"—a person, I presume, not unknown to Mr. W. Fletcher, a son of the venerable and just judge of that name—makes the following observation on the subject before us:—

"Thousands were tortured with the connivance of government, and multitudes condemned to death, in defiance of every principle of law and justice". . . . "It has often been asserted, and the writer believes with perfect truth, that the Irish rebellion was fomented and encouraged by government for the purpose of carrying the Union into effect". . . . "Many were suspected of being rebels, who were perfectly innocent; multitudes were falsely accused, and not a few judicially murdered".*

A few brief extracts from Lord Moira's speech in the English House of Lords, on the 22nd of November, 1797, will corroborate the preceding statements. His lordship, on that occasion, brought the subject of the torture, then in full practice in Ireland, before the notice of their lordships. He said: "When I troubled your lordships with my observations upon the state of Ireland, last year, I spoke upon documents certain and incontrovertible; I address you this day, my lords, upon documents equally sure and staple. Before God and my country, I speak of what I have seen myself. But in what I shall think it necessary to say upon this subject, I feel that I must take grounds of a restrictive nature. . . . What I have to speak of are not solitary and insulated measures, nor partial abuses, but what is adopted as the system of government; I do not talk of a casual system, but of one deliberately determined upon and regularly persevered in.

* "Lights and Shadows of Whigs and Tories", 1841, p. 100.

The MAJOR trying a Charity sermon in Mr. Latouches Travelling Pulpit

(From Cox's Magazine).

"When we hear of a military government, we must expect excesses which are not all, I acknowledge, attributable to government, but these I lay out of my consideration: I will speak only of the excesses that belong to and proceed from the system pursued by the administration of Ireland. . . . My lords, I have seen in Ireland the most absurd, as well as the most disgusting tyranny that any nation ever groaned under. I have been myself a witness of it in many instances; I have seen it practised and unchecked; and the effects that have resulted from it have been such as I have stated to your lordships. I have said, that if such a tyranny be persevered in, the consequence must inevitably be the deepest and most universal discontent, and even hatred, to the English name. I have seen in that country a marked distinction made between the English and Irish. I have seen troops that have been sent full of this prejudice—that every inhabitant in that kingdom is a rebel to the British government. I have seen the most wanton insults practised upon men of all ranks and conditions. I have seen the most grievious oppressions exercised, in consequence of a presumption that the person who was the unfortunate object of such oppression, was in hostility to the government; and yet that has been done in a part of the country as quiet and as free from disturbance as the city of London. Who states these things, my lords, should, I know, be prepared with proofs. I am prepared with them. Many circumstances I know of my own knowledge, others I have received from such channels as will not permit me to hesitate one moment in giving credit to them".

His lordship then observed, that from education and early habits, the Curfew was ever considered by Britons as a badge of slavery and oppression. It was then practised in Ireland with a brutal rigour. He had known an instance where a master of a house had in vain begged to be allowed the use of a candle, to enable the mother to administer relief to her daughter struggling in convulsive fits. In former times, it had been the custom for Englishmen to hold the infamous proceedings of the Inquisition in detestation: one of the greatest horrors with which it was attended was, that the person, ignorant of the crime laid to his charge, or of his accuser, was torn from his family, immured in a prison, kept in the most cruel uncertainty as to the period of his confinement or the fate which awaited him. To this injustice, abhorred by Protestants in the practice of the Inquisition, were the people of Ireland exposed. All confidence, all security, were taken away. In alluding to the Inquisition, he had omitted to mention one of its characteristic features: if the supposed culprit refused to acknowledge the crime with which he was charged, he was put to the rack, to extort confession of whatever crime was alleged against him by

the pressure of torture. The same proceedings had been introduced in Ireland. When a man was taken up on suspicion, he was put to the torture; nay, if he were merely accused of concealing the guilt of another. The rack, indeed, was not at hand; but the punishment of picketing was in practice, which had been for some years abolished, as too inhuman even in the dragoon service. He had known a man, in order to extort confession of a supposed crime, or of that of some of his neighbours, picketed until he actually fainted; picketed a second time until he fainted again; as soon as he came to himself, picketed a third time, until he once more fainted: and all upon mere suspicion! Nor was this the only species of torture: many had been taken and hung up until they were half dead, and then threatened with a repetition of the cruel treatment, unless they made confession of the imputed guilt. These were not particular acts of cruelty, exercised by men abusing the power committed to them, but they formed a part of our system. They were notorious, and no person could say who would be the next victim of this oppression and cruelty, which he saw others endure. This, however, was not all; their lordships, no doubt, would recollect the famous proclamation issued by a military commander in Ireland, requiring the people to give up their arms; it never was denied that this proclamation was illegal, though defended on some supposed necessity; but it was not surprising that any reluctance had been shown to comply with it by men who conceived the constitution gave them a right to keep arms in their houses for their own defence; and they could not but feel indignation in being called upon to give up their right. In the execution of the order, the greatest cruelties had been committed: if any one was suspected to have concealed weapons of defence, his house, his furniture, and all his property was burnt: but this was not all; if it were supposed that any district had not surrendered all the arms which it contained, a party was sent out to collect the number at which it was rated; and in the execution of this order, thirdly houses were sometimes burnt down in a single night. Officers took upon themselves to decide discretionally the quantity of arms, and upon their opinions these fatal consequences followed. Many such cases might be enumerated; but, from prudential motives, he wished to draw a veil over more aggravated facts, which he could have stated, and which he was willing to attest before the Privy Council, or at their lordships' bar.

The government at this period, it is needless to say, issued no proclamations, and published no precise instructions to their functionaries to inflict these tortures. It would not have done at the close of the eighteenth century to have addressed Lord Camden in the barbarous terms addressed,

in the sixteenth, to the Deputy Carew. Queen Elizabeth, in 1598, in her instructions to Carew, the Deputy of Munster, on his going over to carry "her gracious pleasure" into effect, authorizes him and her officers, "to put suspected Irish to the rack, and to torture them when they should find it convenient".* The laissez faire mode of accomplishing the same object answered every purpose at a smaller expense of official character. Outrages on a larger scale than any I have referred to were practised in Ireland in 1798, by its armed Orange bands, with entire impunity.†

The sufferings of the Irish people were brought before the English House of Lords on Wednesday, June 27th, 1798. The Earl of Bessborough moved the following address, which was seconded by the Earl of Suffolk:—

"That an humble address be presented to the King, to state to his Majesty the advice and request of this house, that he would be graciously pleased to take into his royal consideration the calamitous state of his kingdom of Ireland, and that, when, under the blessings of divine Providence, the rebellion now existing in that kingdom shall have been suppressed, such a spirit of conciliation may be adopted as may tend most effectually and most speedily to restore to that afflicted country the blessings of peace and good government; and also to implore his Majesty, in the administration of affairs of Ireland, to employ such persons as may possess the confidence of the people, and insure to them the permanence of a just and lenient system of government".

It was supported by the Duke of Bedford, Lord Holland, &c., and opposed by Lord Auckland, Lord Grenville, the Bishop of Rochester, &c.

The house then divided: for the address, contents 18; non-contents, 34: majority 16, independent of proxies.

The Duke of Bedford then moved the following resolution:—

"Resolved, That this house, understanding it to be a matter of public notoriety that the system of coercion has been enforced in Ireland with a rigour shocking to humanity, and particularly, that scourges and other tortures have been employed for the purpose of extorting confessions, a practice justly held in abhorrence in every part of the (civilized) world; and that houses and buildings have been set fire to—a mode of punishment that can tend only to the most pernicious consequences, and that seldom or ever falls

* "Pacata Hibernia".

† Marquis of Buckingham to Lord Grenville, Dublin, July 23rd, 1798. Speaks in terms of disgust of the licentiousness, the disobedience and the independence of control of every being in the army in Ireland, from the Lieut-General down to the drummer. **Dropmore, MSS., Vol. 2.** Ed.

on the guilty, but, on the contrary, on the landlord, the wife and children of the criminals, who, however iniquitous the husband or father, ought always to be spared and protected, is of opinion that an immediate stop should be put to practices so disgraceful to the British name; and that our best hopes of restoring permanent tranquillity to Ireland must arise from a change of system as far as depends on the executive government, together with a removal from their stations of those persons by whose device those atrocities have been perpetrated, and with regard to whom the afflicted people of Ireland can feel no sentiments but those of resentment and horror".

On a division, it was negatived: contents, 17; non-contents, 44: majority, 27.

The late Lord Holland, in his "Memoirs of the Whig Party", edited by his son, thus speaks of the reign of terror of Irish Orangeism, and "the clemency" of Lord Camden's rule in Ireland:—

"The premature and ill-concerted insurrections which followed in the Catholic districts, were quelled, rather in consequence of want of concert and skill in the insurgents, than of any good conduct or discipline of the king's troops, whom Sir Ralph Abercrombie described very honestly, as formidable to no one but their friends. That experienced and upright commander had been removed from his command, even after those just and spirited general orders, in which the remarkable judgment just quoted was conveyed. His recall was hailed as a triumph by the Orange faction, and they contrived, about the same time, to get rid of Mr. Secretary Pelham, who, though somewhat time-serving, was a good-natured and a prudent man. Indeed, surrounded as they were with burning cottages, tortured backs, and frequent executions, they were yet full of their sneers at what they whimsically termed 'the clemency' of the government, and the weak character of their Viceroy, Lord Camden.... The fact is incontrovertible, that the people of Ireland were driven to resistance, which, possibly, they meditated before, by the free quarters and expenses of the soldiery, which were such as are not permitted in civilized warfare, even in an enemy's country. Trials, if they must so be called, were carried on without number under martial law. It often happened that three officers composed the court, and that of the three, two were under age, and the third an officer of the yeomanry or militia, who had sworn, in his Orange lodge, eternal hatred to the people over whom he was thus constituted a judge. Floggings, picketings, death, were the usual sentences, and these were sometimes commuted into banishment, serving in the fleet, or transference to a foreign service. Many were sold at so much per head to the Prussians. Other more legal, but not more

horrible, outrages were daily committed by the different corps under the command of government. Even in the streets of Dublin a man was shot and robbed of £30, on the loose recollection of a soldier's having seen him in the battle of Kilcalley, and no proceedings were instituted to ascertain the murder or prosecute the murderer. Lord Wycombe, who was in Dublin,and who was himself shot at by a sentinel between Black Rock and that city, wrote to me many details of similar outrages, which he had ascertained to be true. Dr. Dickson (Lord Bishop of Down) assured me that he had seen families returning peaceably from mass, assailed, without provocation, by drunken troops and yeomanry, and the wives and daughters exposed to every species of indignity, brutality, and outrage, from which neither his remonstrances, nor those of other **Protestant** gentlemen, could rescue them. The subsequent Indemnity Acts deprived of redress the victims of this wide-spread cruelty". So much for Lord Holland's glance at the Reign of Terror in Ireland.

On the trial of Mr. Finnerty, in 1810, for a libel on Lord Castlereagh, that gentleman submitted a number of affidavits to the court in proof of the ordinary and systematic employment of torture during the period that Lord Castlereagh filled the office of chief secretary in Ireland. In the address of Mr. Finnerty, in his defence on that occasion, in reference to an observation of Lord Holt—"that a man's omission of his duty should be taken as a presumption of his guilt", he said, "If it be pretended that Lord Castlereagh did not order torture, that pretence will not avail when you recollect the affidavits that I have read—when you see that such cruelty has been committed in the Royal Exchange, which immediately adjoins the Castle, and from which the cries of the sufferers might have been heard in Lord Castlereagh's office, where his personal interposition, where the mere expression of his will, might have prevented the continuance of the torture.

"Doubts have been sometimes expressed here", said Mr. Finnerty, "as to the actual infliction of torture in Ireland; indeed I understand that many persons of high rank in this country have been persuaded to doubt on the subject; and I am not surprised at it, for I have myself heard Lord Castlereagh in this country publicly declare that it was not practised with the knowledge, approbation, or authority of government. The government, indeed, not to know of it!—that government which had a system of espionage established in the country as threw that of Fouche into the shade, which enabled them to ascertain what was passing in every hamlet and village in the land—to be ignorant of what was notoriously taking place in the most public parts of Dublin, under the direction of the immediate agents and confidential friends of government, in the immediate vicinity of the

Castle, in such a situation that the screams of the sufferers might have been audible in the very offices where the ministers of government met to perform their functions. The pretence of ignorance, therefore, on the part of government, of such notorious transactions, is quite preposterous".

But it is not on the authority of persons who might be supposed to be inimical to the administration of that period, that the charge rests, of connivance at the use of torture and at the preferment of its perpetrators to places of honour and emolument.

No specific orders, undoubtedly, emanated from the government to Mr. Beresford to convert the Riding School into a scourging-hall—to Mr. Hepenstal to make a walking gallows of his person—to Mr. Love for the half hanging of suspected rebels at Kilkea Castle—to Mr. Hunter Gowan for burning down the cabins of the Croppies—to the high sheriff of Tipperary, for the laceration of the peasant's back, of which Sir John Moore was an eye-witness—to Captain Swaine for the picketings at Prosperous, or Sir Richard Musgrave, to write a treatise in defence of torture; and to all the other gentlemen of "discernment and fortitude" to adopt "the new expedient" for the discovery of crime.

The admitted policy of Lord Castlereagh was, to accelerate the explosion of the insurrection in order to confound the plans of its leaders. For this purpose it was necessary to drive the people mad with terror; and the subordinate agents of this policy were allowed to take their own ways of accomplishing the minister's designs.

These gentlemen were therefore honoured with the confidence of government, and rewarded with its gifts. J. C. Beresford was considered entitled to both; Fitzgerald was created a baronet in 1801; A. H. Gowan was placed on the pension list; Sir Richard Musgrave obtained the office of Receiver of the Customs, with a salary of £1,200 a-year, to mark the sense entertained of his humanity; and the subordinate officers who most notoriously evinced the exuberance of their zeal in the discovery of disaffection, who punished the disaffected with a "vigour beyond the law", were promoted in their several departments. With the exception of Sir Richard Musgrave, there is hardly an instance of a cotemporary writer on the subject of the rebellion, who has not ascribed to the administration of that time, a knowledge of the enormities that were committed on the Irish people. Sir Jonah Barrington, whose political tendencies were certainly not on the side of the insurgents, states, in his "Memoirs of the Irish Union", that "Mr. Pitt counted on the expertness of the Irish government to effect a premature explosion. Free quarters were now ordered on the Irish population". He adds in a note: "This measure was resorted to, with all its attendant horrors, throughout

some of the best parts of Ireland, previous to the insurrection.

"Slow tortures were inflicted, under the pretence of extorting confession; the people were driven to madness. General Abercrombie, who succeeded as commander-in-chief, was not permitted to abate these enormities, and therefore resigned with disgust. Ireland was reduced to a state of anarchy, and exposed to crime and cruelties to which no nation had ever been subject. The people could no longer bear their miseries. Mr. Pitt's object was now effected. These sanguinary proceedings will, in the opinion of posterity, be placed to the account of those who might have prevented them".*

On the same subject, the Rev. James Gordon, rector of Killegny, in the diocese of Ferns, a gentleman, to use his own words, "wholly British by descent", and "his natural bias on the side of Protestantism and loyalty",† states that "great numbers of houses were burned, with their furniture, where concealed arms were found, or meetings of the United Irishmen had been held, or whose occupants had been guilty of the fabrication of pikes, or of other practices for the promotion of the conspiracy. Many of the common people, and some even in circumstances superior to that class, particularly in the city of Dublin, were scourged, some picketed, or otherwise put to pain, to force a confession of concealed arms or plots.

"To authorize the burning of houses and furniture, the wisdom of administration may have seen as good reason as for other acts of severity, though to me and many others that reason is not clear".

John Claudius Beresford, the sanguinary terrorist of 1797 and 1798, was born in 1766. He was the third son of the Right Hon. John Beresford, and grandson of the first Earl of Tyrone. He represented the city of Dublin in the Irish parliament. He was the commandant of the merchant's corps of yeomanry; and the scourge and the pitch-cap, in his hands, did much to make his memory very dear to the Orangemen of Ireland. He had gone through many vicissitudes in his long career: he had been a banker and a bankrupt, a terrorist in 1798, a flaming anti-Union Patriot in 1800, secretary of the grand lodge of Orangemen, and for a lengthened period agent to the Hon. the Irish Society over their estates in Derry.

In 1806, he was elected for the county of Waterford, and again at the general election in the same year, and also in 1807. He served the office of lord mayor for the city of Dublin with great hospitality and very singular popularity.

* Barrington's "Memoirs of the Irish Union", vol. ii., p. 248.
† Gordon's "History of the Rebellion of 1798", pp. 65, 66, 67.

On one occasion, the populace of the Liberty made beasts of burden of themselves, yoked themselves to his carriage, and drew him through the streets in triumph.

In his latter days, it is said, he was charitable, tolerant, and, it is to be hoped, repentant of his grievious crimes against humanity in his early days. He married, in 1795, a Scotch lady of the name of Menzies, and spent his latter days in the vicinity of Coleraine.

In 1813, John Claudius Beresford, the quondam terrorist, highly influential member of parliament, head of a great faction and family of factious men, jobbers, and "undertakers", master of the Riding School in Marlborough Street, and of a bank in Beresford Place, was a bankrupt in fame, fortune, and physical power, a miserable wreck of humanity, a wretched spectacle of a broken man, grim and ghastly to behold—emaciated, gaunt, and feeble; shabby in his attire; a solitary man, stalking through the streets of his native city, like one of those uncomfortable shades of whom we read, on the shores of Leuce—a poor, unhappy ghost, restless and forlorn.

John C. Beresford died in Newtownlimavady, on the 2nd or 3rd of July, 1846, and was interred in the family vault, at a little church about seven miles from Dungiven, on the Derry line of road.

For illustrations of some of the preceding statements, let us glance our eyes over the following notices of passing occurrences in the daily prints during the reign of terror.

"The Press", January 20th, 1798.

"In addition to the catalogue of tortures and massacres committed on the men of Ireland by a set of wretches styling themselves friends of the constitution, the following fact, which happened in Carnew, a small town in an unproclaimed barony in the County of Wicklow, may be depended on as strictly true.

"About a fornight ago, a person of the name of Patrick Doyle, charged with speaking some improper words when in a state of intoxication, was taken prisoner by some soldiers, and confined in the barrack of Carnew. Shortly after his being taken into custody, a Mr. B——— and a Mr. M'C———— came into the barrack-yard, and wanted Doyle to confess his guilt, and to give information against persons disaffected to government. Doyle declared his innocence in the most positive manner, and absolutely denied having any knowledge of disaffected persons. His answers not pleasing these gentlemen, they determined to torture him into others more agreeable, and for this purpose they had him suspended by a penny cord; the unfortunate man was in that situation for some time, but at length the cord

broke, and he came to the ground. His sanguinary executioners, not satisfied with the tortures they had already inflicted on him, got another cord, and hung him up a second time, Mr. B———— at the same time declaring that if that cord were not strong enough to do the business, he would provide a shilling rope; however, he was saved the trouble and expense, for when the second cord broke the unfortunate victim fell to the ground apparently lifeless, with his tongue forced to great length withoutside his mouth, and whilst he lay in that situation, the son of Mr. B———— (a son worthy of such a father) repeatedly kicked him and otherwise abused him. By the humane exertions of some women the tongue of the unhappy man was got into its place, and he was restored to life; but it had been better for him to have died under the hands of his butchers, for he is ever since deprived of his reason".

"A lieutenant, well known by the name of the Walking Gallows, at the head of a party of the regiment, marched to a place called Gardenstown in your county; they went to the house of an old man (named Carroll) of seventy years and upwards, and asked for arms, and having promised protection and indemnity, the old man delivered up to this monster three guns, which he no sooner received, than he with his own hands shot the old man through the heart, and then had his sons (two young men) butchered, burned and destroyed their house, corn, hay, and, in short, every property which they possessed. The wife and child of one of the sons were enclosed in the house when set fire to, and would have been burned had not one of the soldiers begged their lives from the officer, but on the condition that if the bitch (using his own words) made the least noise, they should share the same fate as the rest of the family. This bloody transaction happened about two o'clock on Monday morning, the 19th of June last. He then pressed a car, on which the three dead bodies were thrown, and from thence went to a village called Moyvore, took into custody three men, named Henry Smith, John Smith, and Michael Murray, under pretence of their being United Irishmen, and having tied them to the car on which the mangled bodies of the Carrolls were placed, they were marched about three miles, possing in the blood of their murdered neighbours, and at three o'clock on the same day were shot on the fair green of Ballymore; and so universal was the panic, that a man could not be procured to inter the six dead bodies: the sad office was obliged to be done by women. The lieutenant, on the morning of this deliberate and sanguinary murder, invited several gentlemen to stay and see what he called partridge shooting. It may not be improper to remark, that Lord Oxmantown remonstrated with the officers on the

monstrous cruelty of putting these men to death, who might, if tried by the laws of their country, appear innocent. He begged and intreated to have them sent to jail, and prosecuted according to law (if any proof could be brought against them), but his humane efforts proved fruitless; the men were murdered !"*

Amongst the admissions of the witnesses of those times, of the means they took to extort confessions of guilt, there is one of the same lieutenant (Hepenstal of the Wicklow Militia), which is distinguished for the coolness of its effrontery, and the atrociousness of the crimes openly acknowledged. Hepenstal was a native of the County Wicklow, had been educated at the school of a pious Catholic priest in Clarendon Street, Dublin, of the name of Gallagher, his mother being of the Catholic religion; a sister of his was married to the notorious Dr. Duigenan. He was brought up to the business of an apothecary, but, in 1795, renounced the pestle for the sword—and halter. Being a man of Herculean stature, he made a gallows of his person, and literally hung numbers of persons over his shoulder.

At the trial of Hyland, in September, 1797, at the Athy assizes, under the Whiteboy Act, Hepenstal, being examined touching the mode of procuring evidence from the witness against the prisoner, said on examination, "he had used some threats, and pricked him with a bayonet"; and when cross-examined by Mr. M'Nally, said, "this prisoner had also been pricked with a bayonet, to induce him to confess: a rope had been put about his neck, which was thrown over his (Hepenstal's) shoulder; he then pulled the rope and drew the prisoner up, and he was hung in this way for a short time, but continued sulky, and confessed nothing". Whereupon Mr. M'Nally said, "Then you acted the executioner, and played the part of a gallows ?" "Yes, please your honour", was the reply of Lieutenant Hepenstal.

The Solicitor-General, Mr. Toler, who tried the case, in his charge to the jury, regretted the treatment of the prisoner; "but it was an error such as a young and gallant officer might fall into, warmed by resentment". Sir Jonah Barrington was one of the counsel for the crown. The prisoner was found guilty.

The memory of this infamous man has received its deserts at the hands of a clerical gentleman of the name of Barrett, in the form of an epitaph:—

"Here lie the bones of Hepenstal,
Judge, jury, gallows, rope, and all".

Hepenstal died about 1813; his remains were interred in the burying-ground of St. Andrew's church, Dublin.

* "The Press," January 11th, 1798.

"Dublin Evening Post", 7th February, 1798.

"A few days ago a party of dragoons entered the house of a poor cottager in one of those parts which have been declared out of the peace. After shooting the poor old woman to whom it belonged, with more than savage barbarity, the officer commanding violated the person of her daughter. He was taken into custody by a guard of the regiment to which he belonged (9th Dragoons), who showed as much indignation at the unnatural and unmanly crime with which he stands charged, as any private citizen could do, and with an alacrity that does honour to this old and respectable regiment, lodged him in the jail of Carlow. He bore until this time a good character in his regiment, and has a brother a lieutenant in Lord Drogheda's Light Horse".

Wicklow Atrocities of 1798.

From the "Irish Magazine" of December, 1811.

"There lived in the year 1798, at Upper Newcastle, County of Wicklow, an aged man of the name of Richard Neill, a poor farmer. This man's son, Michael, had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the Orangemen of the neighbourhood, by the contempt he uniformly treated them with. He was handsome and athletic, and frequently would exhibit his strength and uncommon activity, chastising the cowards, whenever he detected them in any act of outrage or riot. This raised an implacable hostility in the minds of those fellows against young Neill, which the suspension of the laws, and a license to military outrages, in the years 1797 and 1798, gave them every authority to gratify. As every assassin who had a military uniform, felt himself authorized to shoot and murder every other person he met (see Wooloughan's Trial), the enemies of Neill did not omit to use this plenitude of power in its fullest extent, and among other game wrote down young Neill in their book of proscriptions. They had a considerable accession of strength in the Ancient Britons, who also entered into all the spirit of plunder and murder then in such leading estimation.

"A party of those huntsmen, formed of the Newtown Mount Kennedy Cavalry and Ancient Britons, surrounded Neill's house in the middle of the night, and after breaking the doors and windows, they entered the house, denouncing destruction to the wretched inmates. During the struggle to get admittance, young Neill contrived to secrete himself, but was soon called out from his hiding-place by the impulse of filial piety, as the murderers were beginning to torture his father, then more than seventy years of age, to make him discover to them the retreat of the son. The

groans of the father were so loud and affecting, that the generous son could no longer think of saving himself, and his parent suffering under the most acute torments. He burst in among the armed banditti, and was immediately seized and handcuffed. Then binding his hands to the saddle of one of the horses, the party mounted and galloped away to Newtown Mount Kennedy, dragging the unfortunate Neill with the rapid horses a journey of two miles. When they arrived, they were joined by their companions in blood, huzzaing and blaspheming in the most frantic manner. Maimed and mangled as he was,they flung him on the floor of the guard-house, where he fell, without uttering one complaint. He raised himself on his knees, and in silent prayer addressed his God. When the wretches discovered him in this attitude, they called the unfortunate youth every opprobrious name—Papist, rebel, &c. They then proceeded to goad him with the points of their swords, and in a few minutes the guard-house was filled with Ancient Britons, who joined in the amusement. Rendered desperate, and entertaining no idea of mercy from his torturers, he flung himself among them, and succeeded several times in knocking down such of them as he could close with, as he had nothing but his hands to use. At length, and after much difficulty, they succeeded in knocking him down, when one fellow stood on his neck, while another amused his comrades by repeatedly driving his spurs into poor Neill's face. Though nearly blinded, and wounded in every part of the body, his strength remaining not much diminished, he took up a fourteen-pound weight that lay where he fell, jumped on his feet, wound it by the ring round his head, and with the other hand held one of the Ancient Britons, until he laid him dead with the iron weight, and then, using all his remaining strength, he flung it from him among the crowd. Disarmed and nearly exhausted, a fellow of the name of James Williams ran him through the body with a bayonet; he fell, and they bound his hands, put a rope on his neck, dragged him to the next gallows, where they finished his life and sufferings, and exposed his naked body for several days after".

"Belfast Newspaper", April 6th, 1798.

"At the Naas assizes, April 22nd, Ensign James Battry, of the Dumbartonshire Fencibles, tried for an assault with intent to ravish Mary Ryan, who, with her brother, had been confined in his guard-room on the 3rd of October, 1797 —acquitted, though the offence was clearly proved by the brother and sister, and another prisoner, James Dunn".

From the "Dublin Journal", July 13th, 1798.

"Clarke, who received punishment on Saturday, the 9th inst., for treasonable practices, and against whom new charges of an important nature had been exhibited, died in our gaol on the night of the following Tuesday. Wednesday the coroner's inquest sat upon him, and returned the following verdict: 'We find and believe the death of the deceased, Thomas Clarke, was occasioned by poison' ".

Torture, Administration of, in 1798, at the hands of Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald, High Sheriff of Tipperary.—Case of Mr. Bernard Wright, of Clonmel.

In speaking of the torture inflicted on the gentry, the Rev. Mr. Gordon, a Protestant clergyman, says: "Mr. Thomas J. Fitzgerald seized in Clonmel a gentleman of the name of Wright, against whom no grounds of suspicion could be conjured by his neighbours, caused five hundred lashes to be inflicted on him in the severest manner, and confined him several days, without permitting his wounds to be dressed, so that his recovery from such a state of laceration could hardly have been expected. In a trial at law, after the rebellion, on an action of damages brought by Wright against this magistrate, the innocence of the plaintiff appeared so manifest, even at a time when prejudice ran amazingly high against persons accused of disloyalty, that the defendant was sentenced to pay £500 to his prosecutor. Many other actions on similar grounds would have been commenced, if the parliament had not put a stop to such proceedings by an act of indemnity for all errors committed by magistrates from supposed zeal for the public service. A letter, written in the French language, found in the pocket of Wright, was hastily considered as a proof of guilt, though the letter was of a perfectly innocent nature".

We must have recourse to the reports of Irish parliamentary proceedings for further insight into the exploits of Mr. T. J. Fitzgerald, the history of whose life and loyalty is written in legible characters on the backs of great numbers of his countrymen.

"At the assizes in Clonmel, March, 14th, 1799, the trial took place of an action brought by Mr. Bernard Wright, a teacher of the French language, against Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald, Esq., late sheriff of the County of Tipperary. The damages were laid at £1,000. The trial took place before Lord Yelverton and Judge Chamberlain. The first witness examined, William Nicholson, Esq., deposed, that

he knew both plaintiff and defendant; plaintiff, on hearing the high sheriff had expressed an intention of arresting him (Wright), immediately went to surrender himself to a magistrate. The magistrate not being at home, witness accompanied plaintiff to the high sheriff. Witness told the latter Wright had come to surrender himself; on which the high sheriff said to Wright: "Fall on your knees, and receive your sentence, for you are a rebel, and you have been a principal in the rebellion: you have to receive five hundred lashes, and then to be shot'. Whereon Wright prayed for a time, hoped he would get a trial, and if he was not found innocent, he would submit to any punishment. Defendant answered: 'What ! speak after sentence has been passed !' "

(The Hon. Mr. Yelverton, in the House of Commons, in his statement of these proceedings, said, the words used by Fitzgerald were: "What ! you Carmelite rascal ! do you dare to speak after sentence ?" and then struck him, and sent him off to prison; and next day the unhappy man was dragged to a ladder, in Clonmel Street, to undergo his sentence).

"The witness, Nicholson, swore that he endeavoured in vain to persuade the high sheriff to have the plaintiff tried, and to convince him of Wright's innocence, 'whom he had known from his childhood, and had always known to be a loyal man'.

"Solomon Watson, a Quaker, affirmed, that on the 29th of May, 1798, the high sheriff told witness he was going to whip a set of rebels. 'Saw Wright brought to the ladder under a guard; had his hands to his face, seemed to be praying; saw him on his knees at the ladder. Defendant, the high sheriff, pulled off Wright's hat, stamped on it, dragged him by the hair, struck him with his sword, and kicked him; blood flowed; and then dragged him to the ladder; selected some strong men, and cried, 'Tie up citizen Wright ! tie up citizen Wright !'

"Witness further deposed, that Wright begged to have a clergyman, but his request was refused; then the flogging began. 'Defendant ordered first fifty lashes. He pulled a paper, written in French, out of his pocket, gave it to Major Riall as furnishing his reasons for flogging Wright. Major Riall read the paper, and returned it. Defendant then ordered fifty lashes more, after which he asked how many lashes Wright had received; being answered one hundred, he said: 'Cut the waistband of the rascal's breeches, and give him fifty there'. The lashes were inflicted severely; defendant then asked for a rope; was angry there was no rope; desired a rope to be got ready, while he went to the general for an order to hang him. Defendant went down the street towards the general's lodgings. Wright was left tied

up during this time, from a quarter to half an hour. Could not say during this time whether the crowd had loosed the cords; if not, he remained tied while defendant was absent. When defendant returned, he ordered Wright back to jail, saying he would flog him next day; saw Wright sent back to jail under a guard'.

Major Riall being examined, deposed, that he did not arrive at the place of carrying the flogging into effect before Wright had received fifty lashes. The high sheriff produced two papers, one of which being in French, he (the high sheriff) did not understand, but gave it to him to read, as containing matter that furnished ground for the flogging. Witness read the paper, and returned it, saying it was in no wise treasonable; that it was from a French gentlemen, the Baron de Clues, making an excuse for not keeping an appointment, being obliged to wait on Sir Laurence Parsons (subsequently Lord Rosse). Wright, however, was flogged after witness had explained the nature of the letter to the high sheriff. Witness then went away. Next day accompanied the high sheriff to see Wright in the gaol. Saw him kneeling on his bed, while they were speaking to him, being unable to lie down with soreness. Witness further deposed, that he knew of three innocent persons being flogged, whom he believed to be innocent, of whom Wright was one.

(Solomon Watson had previously deposed, in his evidence, to his knowledge of the defendant having flogged some labourers on account of the kind of waistcoats they wore. He had known defendant knock down an old man in the street for not taking off his hat to him, and he saw a lad of sixteen years of age leap into the river to escape a repetition of a flogging from him).

"The high sheriff, 'in an animated speech', which took nearly two hours to deliver, defended the practice of flogging generally, as a means of obtaining discoveries of treasonable secrets; that he had flogged a man named Nipper, alias Dwyer, who confessed that Wright was a secretary of the United Irishmen, 'and this information he could not get before the flogging'. He insisted on the utility of his efforts to obtain confessions from suspected traitors: when every other means of discovering the truth failed, 'he had a right even to cut off their heads'.

"This mode of arriving at truth, rather disturbed the gravity of the court.

"The Rev. T. Prior, fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, being produced to prove the moral and loyal character of plaintiff, deposed that 'he had known Bernard Wright from his earliest youth, and that he had always conducted himself as an orderly, loyal, and moral man'.

"Judge Chamberlain, in charging the jury, said: 'The jury were not to imagine the legislature, by enabling

magistrates to justify their acts under the Indemnity Bill, had released them from the feelings of humanity, and the obligations of justice in the exercise of power, even in putting down rebellion.

"The jury retired, and found a verdict for the plaintiff, for five hundred pounds, and six pence costs.

"On the 6th of April, 1799, T. Judkin Fitzgerald petitioned the House of Commons, 'praying to be indemnified for certain acts done by him in the suppression of the late rebellion'. The acts specified were the infliction of corporal punishment, of whipping, on many persons of whose guilt he had secret information, but no public evidence. Petitioner said, not being able to disclose the information on which he acted, 'the learned judges who had presided at a late trial (Wright v. Fitzgerald), were of opinion, in point of law, that unless petitioner produced information on oath of the ground on which he acted, that his case could not fall within the provisions of the Indemnity Act passed last session'.

"Mr. Secretary Cooke bore testimony to 'the national services performed by the petitioner'.

"A Bill of Indemnity was passed in the Irish parliament, in accordance with the prayer of the petitioner, and immediately after an application was made on the part of Mr. Fitzgerald, in the Court of Exchequer, to set aside the verdict obtained against him by Mr. Wright, which application was dismissed with full costs".*

In the parliamentary proceedings, "on the petition of T. J. Fitzgerald, Esq., praying for indemnity for certain acts done by him in the suppression of rebellion", April 6th, 1799, Lord Matthew supported the petition, and bore testimony to the conduct of Mr. Fitzgerald: "he was an extremely active, spirited, and meritorious magistrate".

The Hon. Mr. Yelverton opposed the petition on the ground of "there not being found a scintilla of suspicion against the plaintiff, Wright, to justify the unparallelled cruelties exercised on him".

Mr. Yelverton, in stating the facts of the case, read the letter in the French language, which had been shown to Major Raill by the all-mighty sheriff of Tipperary, as a justification of the scourging of a respectable gentleman, a peaceable man, of literary habits and pursuits, who was designated a scoundrel, whom the sheriff would be justified in flogging to death, and which letter, Mr. Yelverton said, had been translated in these words to Mr. Fitzgerald by Major Riall, on the spot, at the place of execution, in one of the intervals of the flogging:—

* Report of the trial Wright v. Fitzgerald.

"SIR,—I am extremely sorry I cannot wait on you at the hour appointed, being unavoidably obliged to attend Sir Laurence Parsons.

"To B. Wright, Esq. "Your's,
"BARON CLUES".

The Hon. Mr. Yelverton proceeded to state, that "notwithstanding this translation, which Major Riall read to Mr. Fitzgerald, he ordered fifty lashes more to be inflicted, and with such peculiar severity, that, horrid to relate, the intestines of the bleeding man could be perceived convulsed through his wounds! Mr. Fitzgerald finding he could not continue the action of his cat-o'-nine-tails on that part where he was cutting his way into his body, ordered the waistband of his breeches to be cut open, and had fifty more lashes inflicted there. He then left the man bleeding and suspended, while he went to the barracks to demand a file of men to come and shoot him; but being refused by the general, he ordered him back to prison, where he was confined in a dark room, with no other furniture than a wretched pallet of straw, without covering, and here he remained six or seven days without any medical assistance".

"Gracious God!" said Mr. Yelverton, "will any man say that such conduct is to be sanctioned and indemnified by this house? I would be one of the last men to refuse every reasonable indemnity to loyal magistrates, for acts done in the performance of their duty for the suppression of rebellion, but I will never vote for protection and indemnity to a bloody tyrant, whose conduct, though it may have produced good in some instances, has been productive of infinitely more mischief: and on these grounds I will give this petition every resistance in my power".

Mr. John Claudius Beresford defended the conduct of the high sheriff.

The Hon. F. Hely Hutchinson opposed the indemnity. He deprecated the conduct of Fitzgerald in the case of Wright. "He was himself present when similar acts were committed by Mr. Fitzgerald, whose zeal had led him to deeds of horror. In the town of Clogheen there was a man of some property and good character, who kept an inn; and this man was brought out of his house by Mr. Fitzgerald, tied up to a ladder, and whipped. When he had received some lashes, Mr. Fitzgerald asked him, 'Who swore you?' The man answered he never was sworn. After a few stripes the question was repeated, and received with a similar answer. The remedy was resumed for the supposed obstinacy, with this additional suggestion: 'If you do not confess, I'll cut you to death'. The man, unable to bear the torture any longer, then did name a person who he said had sworn him; but the moment he was cut down, he said to

Lord Cahir, 'The man never swore me; but he' (Fitzgerald) 'said he would cut me to death if I did not accuse somebody, and to save my life I told the lie' ".*

The Attorney-General defended the petitioner, and advocated the proposed indemnity bill. It passed the house by a majority. Mr. Fitzgerald, emboldened by his success, then applied to the Court of Exchequer to set aside the verdict obtained against him by Wright, but his application was dismissed with full costs.

Mr. Cooke, too, it will be borne in mind, bore testimony "to the national services of the petitioner".†

The government of that day, or rather Lords Camden, Castlereagh, and Clare, were represented on that honourable occasion by Mr. Secretary Cooke in the House of Commons; they defended, through him, the terrible atrocities of Mr. T. J. Fitzgerald,‡ and by so doing, they accepted all the responsibility of his acts, and so doing, most heavily they charged their souls with the guilt of sanguinary crimes of astounding atrocity.

In reference to the barbarities committed on the bodies of executed rebels, the Rev. Mr. Gordon§ says: "Many instances might be given of men, who, at the hazard of their own lives, concealed and maintained loyalists until the storm passed away. On the other hand, many might be given of the cruelties committed by persons not natives of Ireland. I shall mention only one act, not of what I shall call cruelty, since no pain was inflicted, but ferocity, not calculated to soften the rancour of the insurgents. Some soldiers of the Ancient British regiment cut open the dead body of Father Michael Murphy, after the battle of Arklow, took out his heart, roasted his body, and oiled their boots with the grease which dripped from it".

Mr. Edward Hay, in his history of the insurrection of the County of Wexford, states:—

* "Report of Proceedings in the House of Commons on Petition of T. J. Fitzgerald", p. 38.

† Mr. Edward Cooke arrived in Dublin the 24th March, 1784, having been appointed under-secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, Mr. Orde being then chief secretary (See "Cary's Volunteer Journal", 25th March, 1784).

‡ Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald, of Lisheen, in the County Tipperary, received the honour of knighthood for his services in 1798. He died in Cork in October, 1810.

§ Vide "Gordon's History of the Rebellion", p. 212.

"In Enniscorthy, Ross, and Gorey, several persons were not only put to the torture in the usual manner, but a great number of houses were burnt, and measures of the strongest coercion were practised, although the people continued to flock to the different magistrates for protection. Mr. Perry, of Inch, a Protestant gentleman, was seized on and brought a prisoner to Gorey, guarded by the North Cork Militia, one of whom (the noted serjeant, nicknamed Tom the Devil) gave him woeful experience of his ingenuity and adroitness at devising torment. As a specimen of his savoir faire, he cut off the hair of his head very closely, put the sign of the cross from the front to the back, and transversely from ear to ear closer still; and, probably, a pitched cap not being in readiness, gunpowder was mixed through the hair, which was then set on fire, and the shocking process repeated, until every atom of hair that remained could be easily pulled out by the roots; and still a burning candle was continually applied until the entire was completely singed away, and the head left totally and miserably blistered".*

"It is said that the North Cork regiment were the inventors—they certainly were the introducers—of pitch-cap torture into the County of Wexford. Any person having his hair cut short, and therefore called a croppy (by which the soldiery designated an United Irishman), on being pointed out by some loyal neighbour, was immediately seized and brought into a guard-house, where caps, either of coarse linen or strong brown paper, be-smeared inside with pitch, were already kept ready for service. The unfortunate victim had one of these, well heated, compressed on his head, and when judged of a proper coolness, so that it could not be easily pulled off, the sufferer was turned out, amidst the horrid acclamations of the merciless torturers".†

"Mr. Hunter Gowan had, for many years, distinguished himself by his activity in apprehending robbers, for which he was rewarded a pension of £100 per annum; and it is much to be wished that every one who has obtained a pension had as well deserved it. Now exalted to the rank of magistrate, and promoted to be captain of a corps of yeomen, he was zealous in exertions to inspire the people about Gorey with dutiful submission to the magistracy and a respectful awe of the yeomanry. On a public day in the week preceding the insurrection, the town of Gorey, beheld the triumphal entry of Mr. Gowan at the head of his corps, with his sword drawn, and a human finger stuck upon the point of it.

*Vide Hay's "Insurrection of the County of Wexford", p. 181.

† Ibid., p. 57.

JOHN FITZGIBBON, Earl of Clare. Born in 1749. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and Christ Church, Oxford. In 1772 he was called to the Irish Bar. Entered the Irish Parliament in 1778. Opposed Grattan and the Nationalist Party throughout his career as Member of Parliament. In 1789 he became Lord Chancellor. He consistently advocated the Union Bill, and fought against any measure of Catholic relief. After the Union he sat in the English House of Lords, but did not create a very favourable impression. Pitt is reported to have said, after hearing Clare speak on the Catholic claims—"Good God! did you ever hear in all your life such a rascal as that?" Clare died in Dublin in 1802. His funeral was made the occasion of a singular outburst of hate by the Dublin populace.

"With this trophy he marched into the town, parading up and down the streets several times, so that there was not a person in Gorey who did not witness this exhibition, while, in the meantime, the triumphant corps displayed all the devices of Orangemen. After the labour and fatigue of the day, Mr. Gowan and his men retired to a public-house to refresh themselves, and like true blades of game, their punch was stirred about with the finger that had graced their ovation, in imitation of keen fox-hunters, who whisk a bowl of punch with the brush of a fox before their boozing commences. This captain and magistrate afterwards went to the house of Mr. Jones where his daughters were, and, while taking a snack that was set before him, he bragged of having blooded his corps that day, and that they were as staunch bloodhounds as any in the world. The daughters begged of their father to show them the croppy finger, which he deliberately took from his pocket and handed to them. Misses dandled it about with senseless exultation, at which a young lady present hid her face with her hands, to avoid the horrid sight. Mr. Gowan, perceiving this, took the finger from his daughter, and archly dropped it into the disgusted lady's bosom. She instantly fainted, and thus the scene ended! Mr. Gowan constantly boasted of this and similar heroic actions, which he repeated in the presence of Brigade Major Fitzgerald, on whom he waited officially; but so far from meeting with his wonted applause, the major obliged him instantly to leave the company.*

"Enniscorthy and its neighbourhood were similarly protected by the activity of Archibald Hamilton Jacob, aided by the yeomen cavalry, thoroughly equipped for this kind of service. They scoured the country, having in their train a regular executioner, completely appointed with his implements—a hanging-rope and cat-o'-nine-tails. Many detections and consequent prosecutions of United Irishmen soon followed. A law had been recently enacted, that magistrates, upon their own authority, could sentence to transportation persons accused and convicted before them. Great numbers were accordingly taken up, prosecuted, and condemned. Some, however, appealed to an adjournment of a quarter-sessions, held in Wexford on the 23rd of May, in the County Court House, at which three-and-twenty magistrates, from different parts of the County, attended.

"In the course of the trials on these appeals, in the public Court House of Wexford, Mr. Archibald Hamilton Jacob appeared as evidence against the prisoners, and publicly avowed the happy discoveries he had made in consequence of inflicting the torture. Many instances of whipping and strangulation he particularly detailed, with a

* Vide "Hay's Insurrection of the County of Wexford", p. 70.

degree of self-approbation and complacency that clearly demonstrated how highly he was pleased to rate the merit of his own great and loyal services".*

"On the 21st of June, the town of Enniscorthy having been retaken by the king's troops, the house in which the sick and wounded of the rebel party were placed, was set on fire, and about thirty of the unfortunate inmates perished. The Hessian troops distinguished themselves particularly on this occasion. The Rev. James Gordon, a Protestant clergyman, in speaking of this atrocious proceeding, says he was "informed by a surgeon that the burning was accidental; the bed-clothes being set on fire by the wadding of the soldiers' guns, who were shooting the patients in their beds".

The son of the late Mr. Thomas Reynolds, in his recent unsuccessful and ill-judged effort to vindicate the memory of his father, in recounting the various atrocities committed by the rebels, is compelled to acknowledge that their barbarities were equalled, and sometimes provoked, by the massacres of their opponents. "At the same time", says this gentleman, "that numerous acts of equal atrocity, and still less justifiable, were, during the same period, and for some time previous to the breaking out of the rebellion, committed by the opposite party. I say, still less justifiable, because they were urged and frequently countenanced by the actual presence of persons of distinction, who indulged their brutality under the assumed mask of loyalty. Such was the murder of Mr. Johnstone, of Narraghmore, as I have already related; the burning of the rebel hospital in Enniscorthy, with all the rebel sick and wounded it contained, to the number of above thirty persons (Cloney states the number put to death on the occasion was seventy-six); the massacre of above fifty unresisting individuals, by a party of the military, under the command of Lieutenant Gordon, of the yeomanry cavalry, which provoked the massacre of Bloody Friday; the slaughter of upwards of two hundred men, after they had surrendered on terms of capitulation to General Dundas, on the Curragh of Kildare; the numerous murders committed in cold blood,in retaliation for those committed by the outlaws under Holt and Hacket; the flogging of suspected persons, and throwing salt into their wounds, to extort confession, and other acts of a similar nature".†

Mr. Gordon says, "The Hessians exceeded the other troops in the business of depredation, and many loyalists who escaped from the rebels, were put to death by these foreigners. To send such troops into the country, in such

* Ibid., p. 71.

† Vide "Life of Thomas Reynolds", by his Son, vol. ii., p. 337.

a state of affairs, was, in my humble opinion, a wrong step in government, who cannot be supposed indifferent to the lives of loyal subjects. By what influence the plundering was permitted so long to the soldiery, in some parts of the country, after the rebellion was quelled, I shall not at present pretend to state. The publication of some facts, of which I have acquired information, may not perhaps be as yet safe. On the arrival of the Marquis of Huntley, however, with his regiment of Scottish Highlanders, in Gorey, the scene was totally altered. To the immortal honour of this regiment, its behaviour was such as, if it were universal among soldiers, would render a military government amiable. To the astonishment of the, until then, miserably harassed peasantry, not the smallest trifle, even a drink of buttermilk, would any of these Highlanders accept without the payment of at least the full value".

Here are the items in the two accounts of savagery, namely, of the Wexford rebels on one side, and of the armed Orangemen and terrorists in authority on the other, and the balance of blood-guiltiness and barbarity struck by Thomas Cloney, an eye-witness of many of the occurrences he relates, but no participator in their barbarities.

The executions that followed courts-martial, be it observed, are not taken into account by Cloney, though many of them, assuredly, had all the leading characteristics of cold-blooded murders; and amongst the latter, not a few out of the sixty-six executions related by Musgrave, "from the retaking of the town of Wexford, June 21st, 1798, to December, 1800*."

"I have now," says Cloney, "to direct the reader's attention to a comparative statement of the outrages respectively perpetrated by the magistrates, military, yeomanry, and insurgents, in the County of Wexford, in the year 1798. Nothing, certainly, can be more remote from my intention than to exhibit this melancholy list for the purpose of reviving almost defunct prejudices. I think I shall obtain credit with my countrymen for the declaration I now make, a declaration founded upon long and intimate knowledge of Protestant worth, that a more honourable race of men never existed than the good Protestants of the County of Wexford.

"It cannot, therefore, be supposed that I mean to charge one outrage committed in the County of Wexford against Protestants, as such. The perpetrators were certainly

* Musgrave's "Appendix", p. 160.

encouraged and hallooed on by men of rank and persons in official station, who called themselves Protestants, but men whom I call practical infidels. Their wretched dupes were motley aggregates of yeomen and military, composed indiscriminately of Protestants, Catholics, and Dissenters. These numerical statements which are subjoined, have been, in some instances, taken from the books of Gordon, Hay, and Alexander; but those accounts which are marked 'private memoranda', were obtained from the traditional details of the surviving children and relations of those who had been murdered:—

"Statement of outrages perpetrated by the magistracy, yeomanry, and king's troops, in the County Wexford, in the year 1798.

"Page 64. Driscol, a hermit, from Camolin Wood, flogged and half-hanged three times by Tottenham's Ross Yeomen—Alexander. ...	1
"Page 65. Fitzpatrick, a country school-master, flogged by same—ditto. ...	1
"Denis M'Donnell, dropped dead in a grove near Mr. Gordon's house with fear of being flogged—Gordon. ...	1
"Doctor Healy, a most respectable and inoffensive gentleman and physician, flogged almost to death by Ross Yeomen—Hay. ...	1
"Flogged by a corps of Yeomen, under the superintendence of a magistrate, in the neighbourhood of Enniscorthy, it appeared on the trials of appeals at Wexford, under the Insurrection Act, on the 23rd May, 1798—Private memoranda ...	17
"Page 70. Flogged to death by Hunter Gowan's Yeomen, a peasant, whose finger was brought into Gorey by Gowan on the point of his sword—Hay. ...	1
"Page 76. Burned from its roots, by Tom the Devil, of the South Cork Militia, the hair of Mr. Perry's head, who was afterwards hanged.—Hay. ...	1
"Flogged and pitch-capped in the town of Carnew, before the insurrection—Private memoranda....	14
"Page 78. Flogged almost to death by a corps of Yeomen, commanded by a magistrate, at Ballaghkeene, on the 24th of May, 1798—Hay. ...	2
"Page 79. Hanged in the town of Enniscorthy, by the Yeomen, previous to the insurrection, without trial— ...	2
"Shot by the Wexford Yeomen Cavalry, in cold blood, the day they arrested John Colclough—Hay....	6

"Shot at Dunlavin, by the yeomanry, without a trial —Hay. ... 34

"Page 76. Shot on the 25th May, 1798, in the ball-alley, at Carnew, without any form of trial—Hay 28

"Page 135. Shot by Hawtry White's Yeomen, on the 27th May, between Oulart and Gorey, men and boys—Hay. ... 28

"Page 135. Shot, in Gorey, by the Tinnehely and Wingfield Yeomanry, and without trial, eleven farmers, who had been taken out of their beds within a mile and a half of the town—Hay. ... 11

"Page 150. Shot by the military, at New Ross, General Harvey's Aide-de-Camp, Mr. Matt. Furlong—Private memoranda. ... 1

"Hanged in Enniscorthy, a drummer of the North Cork Militia, for refusing to beat his drum to the tune of the 'Boyne Water'—Hay. ... 1

"Page 153. Burned by the military, at New Ross, wounded men who had taken refuge there during the battle—Hay. ... 78

"Page 158. Shot by the Yeomen of Gorey, in his own garden, Mr. Kenny, of Ballycanew—Hay. 1

"Shot by Ogle's Blues, at Mayglass, in running away from Wexford—Hay. ... 2

"Shot by the military and yeomen at same place, seven men and four women—Hay. ... 11

"Page 105. Shot near Scarawalsh, an idiot nephew to the parish priest—Hay. ... 1

"Shot by the Newtownbarry Yeomen, in that town, after the retreat from Vinegar Hill, and left in the streets to be torn by pigs—Hay. ... 9

"Violated and murdered, near Ballaghkeene, by the Homperg Dragoons, after the retreat from Vinegar Hill, seven young women—Private memoranda. ... 7

"Bayoneted in Enniscorthy, after the defeat at Vinegar Hill, by the military, twelve men and three women—Private memoranda. ... 15

"Murdered in the neighbourhood of Limerick Hill, by the army encamped there—Private memoranda. 13

"Burned in the insurgents hospital at Enniscorthy, by the military and yeomen, after the defeat at Vinegar Hill—Private memoranda. ... 76

"Shot by the yeomen infantry and cavalry, in cold blood, in the retreat from Kilthomas Hill—Private memoranda. ... 42

"Murdered on the road between Vinegar Hill and Gorey, after the defeat of the insurgents, by the yeomanry, sixteen men, nine women, six children —Private memoranda.	...	31
"Murdered in the hospital of Wexford, by the yeomen and military, after General Lake entered the town, sick and wounded—Private mem.	...	57
"Shot by the yeomanry in the village of Aughrim, nine men and three women—Private mem.	...	12
"Shot at Moneymore, at Mr. Cloney's house, a very old sportsman, who came from the County Carlow to inquire for the author, called Shawn Rooe, alias John Doyle—Private memoranda....		1
"Shot at same place, an aged and most innocent and inoffensive man with a large family, Richard Mullett, and while struggling for death, a pike thrust through his nose into his head, by which he died in the most excruciating torture—Private memoranda.	...	1
"Shot by the King's County Militia and some yeomanry, near Carrigrew, disarmed insurgents Private memoranda.	...	28
"Shot by the military, near Killoughrim Woods, industrious, inoffensive farmers, entirely unconnected with the persons concealed in those woods—Private memoranda.	...	38
"Murdered by the supplementary yeomen, alias the black mob, between Gorey and Arklow, seventeen men and five women—Private memoranda.		22
"Men, women, and children,	...	726
"Murdered at Kilcomney, by Sir C. Asgill's troops, at least	...	140
		866

"The foregoing are the numbers only of those victims of military outrage, in cold blood, of which a very imperfect account has been kept by some of the surviving relatives of the sufferers; but if I were to set down the whole number of those who are reported to have innocently fallen by the muskets and bayonets of a cruel and licentious military and yeomanry, it would more than double the amount of what I have stated. The burning of New Ross suburbs, with its inhabitants enclosed in their cottages, although mentioned by Mr. Hay, I do not calculate.

MEMOIR OF THEOBALD WOLFE TONE.

CHAPTER 1.

The subject of this memoir was the son of Peter Tone, a coachmaker, who carried on an extensive business in that line for some years at No. 44 Stafford Street, Dublin. His grandfather was a farmer in the County Kildare. The land, which he held on freehold leases, was part of the estate of Mr. Wolfe, of Blackhall, and lies between Sallins and Clane, within a few minutes' walk of the remains of the ruined church and the ancient burying-ground of Bodenstown. A part of the old dwelling-house of the Tones is yet standing, [1842], in sight of the mansion of the Wolfes of Blackhall. Peter Tone's father was killed in 1766, by a fall from a corn stack: his eldest son, Peter, who had established himself in his business in Dublin, the same year came into possession of the farm, said to be worth about £300 a year, which he rented to a younger brother of his, Jonathan,* a retired lieutenant of the 22nd regiment of foot. Another brother, Matthew, was brought up to the same business as Peter, and in 1784 had a coach making establishment at No. 126 Great Britain Street, (now Parnell Street). It is stated in the the Annual Register, that Theobald, the eldest son of Peter Tone, was born in Stafford Street in 1763. But in the Dublin Directory the address of "Peter Tone, Coachmaker, 44 Stafford Street", appears only from 1770 to 1781, and in the intermediate period, for a short time, in 1773, his family resided at 27 Bride Street, or lodged there.

Peter Tone married, about 1761, a Miss Lamport, of Drogheda, the daughter of a captain of a merchant vessel in the West India trade. The farm near Clane, which he rented to his younger brother, became a source of contention and litigation between the brothers, which ended in a chancery suit, and, as a matter of course, in the ruin of the litigants. Peter Tone became insolvent, quitted Dublin, and in 1786 was living near Clane on the property that was about to pass away from him and his family. Of sixteen children of Peter Tone, five were then living—Theobald Wolfe, called after Mr. Theobald Wolfe, the lord of the manor (a near relation of Lord Kilwarden), born in Dublin, June 20th, 1763; William, born in 1764; Matthew, in 1771; Mary, probably three or four years later; and Arthur, in 1782.

* Jonathan Tone, as appears from his letters in a chancery suit, was amazingly ignorant of both grammar and spelling. He left his property to his nephew, Theobald Wolfe Tone. Ed.

While Peter Tone carried on the business of a coachmaker in Stafford Street, an anecdote is related of a visit to his establishment of Lord Mornington, the father of The Duke of Wellington, in which that nobleman is made to figure with the eldest son of the coachmaker, in a way anything but propitious to the casual acquaintance of the eccentric lord with the stripling, who had already begun to evince his very vivacious tendencies. There were extensive workshops attached to Tone's establishment. In one of these the celebrated lord, of musical celebrity, was standing one day with his back to the fire, dressed out in all the extravagant foppery of the day, with muff and ruffles, when little Theobald, then but three or four years old, who had been brought to the theatre by his mother the preceding evening, to see Wilks* play the part of Jessamy, in the piece of Lionel and Clarissa, happened to come into the shop, and on seeing his lordship, the little imp cried out, in the hearing of Lord Mornington: "Oh ! mamma, mamma, come and look—here's Jessamy !"

Theobald, William, and Matthew were sent to an excellent English school in Dublin, kept by Sisson Darling. The former, after continuing at this school for three years, was removed to another, kept in Henry Street, by the Rev William Craig. In 1781 he entered Trinity College, under the Rev. Matthew Young. A rage for the military profession, nurtured and fomented by attendance at reviews, parades, and field exercises, had taken possession of Tone previously even to his having entered college. Before he was nineteen, he had gone out as second, with a college lad of the name of Foster, who shot a fellow pupil through the head, of the name of Anderson.

There is a passage in Tone's diary, relative to his early life, which has been omitted in the "Memoirs of his life" by his son (and properly so by him), which, however, before the publication of Tone's memoirs in America, had found its way into a portion of the autobiography of Tone, that had been transmitted from America, and was published in the "New Monthly Magazine," vol. ii., p. 3, 1824. I refer to the passage which alludes to Tone's early passion for theatricals, as throwing much light on the style of his journals, and the extraordinary exuberance of memory and liveliness of imagination exhibited in the ready application

* Thomas Snagg, who for stage purposes adopted the name of Wilks, was a native of London. He played in the Capel Street Theatre from 1770 to 1772, and then joined Ryder's Company in Smock Alley. Subsequently he went to the Crow Street Playhouse. He was an artist of some ability and exhibited pictures in Dublin about 1804. There is a portrait of Wilks, in the character of "Jessamy', in the Hibernian Magazine for November, 1772. He died in Dublin about February, 1812, and was interred in St. Paul's churchyard. I am indebted to W. J. Lawrence for the foregoing details. Ed.

of apposite citations from the popular dramatic writers of the day, to passing occurrences. It appears that, in 1783. and 1784, T. W. Tone had formed an acquaintance with a lady of rank and great personal attractions, Lady B.,* and, in his opinion, "of extraordinary talents for the stage", which she displayed in a private theatre fitted up in her own house. Tone being, in his own words, "somewhat of an actor", took a part in the representations, became a constant visitor at the house, and at length, unfortunately, an enamoured guest.

The private theatricals were brought to a close, which had nearly proved of a tragic character, and Tone never beheld the lady more. But "no human passion", he said, "is proof against time and absence", and so it proved to be in his case. In 1785 he married a young creature, not sixteen years of age, "as beautiful as an angel", Matilda Witherington, whose sister, at a later period, wed the Thomas Reynolds of secret service money celebrity. Tone, having taken out his degree of bachelor of arts, resigned his scholarship in the university, and began the study of law. He had obtained three premiums at college, and as many medals from the Historical Society, of which he was auditor, and one of its most distinguished ornaments. His intimacy with his wife's family having been interrupted, he quitted Dublin with his wife, and went to reside with his father in Kildare. In January, 1787 he proceeded to London to enter his name as a student of law in the Temple. He took chambers in the Temple, at No. 4 Hare Court,† and contrived to maintain himself party by contributing to the magazines. Several reviews of new publications, in the "European Magazine" of 1787-8, were written by him. He likewise wrote a satirical novel, burlesquing the style of writers of romance, in conjunction with two of his friends, Jebb and Radcliffe, called "Belmont Castle".‡

At the Temple he made the acquaintance of the Honourable George Knox, son of Lord Northland, one of his future most attached friends. Instead of studying Coke and Blackstone, poor Tone's head was still running on military matters. The scheme occurred to him of establishing, on a military plan, a colony in one of the South Sea Islands, newly discovered. He drew up a memorial recommending the adoption of his proposal, and addressed it to Mr. Pitt, with the intention, if adopted, of embarking in this project. Mr. Pitt took no notice of the project or the projector.

* Lady Borrowes, wife of Sir Erasmus Dixon Borrowes, of Gilltown, Co. Kildare. There is a reference to this private theatre in Moore's Memoirs, edited by Russell, vol. 1., pp. 10, 11. Ed.

† See "Irish Footprints in the Temple", by T. F. O'Sullivan. Ed.

‡ This novel was published in Dublin. Ed.

["This", says Tone in his Autobiography, "was my first essay in what I may call politics, and my disappointment made such an impression on me as is not yet quite obliterated. In my anger I made something like a vow, that, if ever I had an opportunity, I would make Mr. Pitt sorry, and perhaps fortune may yet enable me to fulfil that resolution".]

Tone's circumstances became so embarrassed in London, and his wife's friends had so deceived him with regard to her promised fortune, that he embraced the desperate resolution of enlisting as a common soldier in the East India Company's service. He proceeded to the India House with that resolution, and was informed that the season for sending out troops was past, and no more ships would be despatched until the beginning of the year following. He had now been two years at the Temple, and had kept eight terms, but as to law, "knowing exactly as much about it as he did of necromancy". An arrangement with his wife's family enabled him to return to Dublin. He purchased a law library, and took lodgings in Clarendon Street, in January, 1789, and in the Trinity term of that year was called to the bar. In the same year a decree in Chancery, instituted by his uncle Jonathan, gave the "coup-de-grace to his father's affairs"; all his property was sold, including two houses in Stafford Street and one on Summer Hill. Soon after this event Peter Tone obtained a situation in the Paving Board, which he retained to the period of his death. Theobald no sooner entered on his profession than he embarked in politics: his first pamphlet, in defence of the opposition and the Whig Club,* A Review of the Last Sessions of Parliament, had some success. Overtures were now made to him by the friends of Mr. Ponsonby, and by some leading members of the Whig party, to attach himself to them, and to promote the interests of the latter. But no cordial union took place between Tone and the Whigs; indeed it was impossible there could be any identity of operations, for there was no identity of principles, of views, or feelings between them. Tone set out in politics with the axiom of Swift and Molyneux, that "the influence of England was the radical vice of Irish government". The Whigs acted on the principle that the influence was salutary, but the mode of exerting it was pernicious to a certain extent, which could be remedied by diminishing pensions, abolishing some places, limiting the prerogative, rescinding penal statutes, and demolishing the outworks of corruption in the representative system. Tone "looked on the little politics of the Whig Club with great contempt". His next

* The Whig Club, which included many leaders of the Patriotic Party, was established by Charlemont, Grattan and Ponsonby, for the purpose of obtaining the reform of the Irish Parliament. Ed.

pamphlet,* on the appearance of a war with Spain, was intended to prove that Ireland was not bound by the declaration of war made by England, but might and ought to stipulate for a neutrality. The publisher, Byrne, suppressed the pamphlet as one of a dangerous tendency, "for which his own gods damn him", says the writer of it.

In the summer of 1790, Tone took a little cottage, in consequence of his wife's delicate state of health, at Irishtown, where, in a small circle of friends, the opinions were discussed, extended, and fortified, which had so important an influence on the state of Ireland a few years later. The parties to those discussions were his friend Thomas Russell, whose acquaintance he had made a short time previously in the gallery of the House of Commons; the venerable father of the latter, Captain Russell, occasionally his own brother William, from the County Kildare, who resided with his father at Clane, and Matthew, who had lately set up a cotton manufactory at Prosperous. In this year, with Russell's assistance, Tone drew up, and addressed to Lord Grenville,† an enlarged plan of his former scheme for the establishment of a military settlement in one of the Sandwich Islands, which "he still thought might be attended with the most beneficial consequences to England". Louis Phillippe, half a century later, has shown he entertained a similar opinion of the utility of such a settlement to France. The winter of 1790, Tone instituted a political club, composed of some remarkable men including Messrs. Drennan, Stack,‡ Pollock,§ Burrowes, John Whitley Stokes, and T. A. Emmet, "the first of his (Tone's) friends". The club did not go on prosperously: it died a natural death in a few months. In 1791, August 1st, Tone published a pamphlet, called "An Argument on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland, by a Northern Whig". Ten thousand copies were struck off in Belfast, and another edition in Dublin. This was one of the ablest productions in favour of the claims of Catholics that had yet appeared, and it has not been equalled by any subsequent vindication of them.

[For additional information regarding this pamphlet see "Letters from Charlemont to Dr. Alexander Henry Haliday in the Charlemont Papers," Hist. MSS. Commission].

This pamphlet made Tone known advantageously in the north; and in October of that year, he was invited to Belfast

* Spanish War! An enquiry how far Ireland is bound, or right, to embark in the impending contest on the side of Great Britain? Addressed to the members of both Houses of Parlament. Dublin, Printed by P. Byrne, 108 Grafton Street, M,DCC, XC. 44 pp. Signed, "Hibernicus". Ed.

† Grenville was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Ed.

‡ Stack was a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.

§ Pollock was the author of a number of letters signed, "Owen Roe O'Nial". Ed.

Pedigree of Theobald Wolfe Tone and connexions.

His wife and son were dead, and were buried in St. Ann's = Revd. Edward Fanning, T.C.D., 69 Grafton Street.

Catherine Fanning d. 1797, left £60 a year to her husband. = Wm. Witherington of Grafton Street, Merchant.

—Johanna
—Harriet*
—Catherine

Edward Witherington Cornet, 5th Dragoons afterwards Capt. 9th Dragoons, subsequently Major.

Henry Witherington left property by his Grandfather and the house in Grafton Street, No. 69.

2nd husband Wilson of Dullater, Scotland, m. 1816. = Matilda Witherington, b. 1769. = Theobald Wolfe Tone b. 1763, d. 1798, called to the Bar 1789, (executed). His Uncle Jonathan in his will left him his property.

Daughter of William Sampson = William Theobald Tone, Officer in French Army, b. 1791, wounded ten times in action,

Francis Rawdon Tone, d. of decline in 1806

Maria Tone d. of decline, aged 16.

* Wife of Thos. Reynolds the informer.

=John Lamport Capt. West India Trade Will Pr. 1747

=William Tone, farmer near Naas, killed by fall from a corn stack in 1776, buried at Bodenstown.

Margaret m. 1761 had 16 children 5 living in 1786

=Peter Tone Coach Builder, 44 Stafford Street, Decree in Chancery against him 1789, Became bankrupt, died 1805-6, eldest son.

Matthew Tone Coach Builder, 186 Great Britain St spoken of in Chancery Proeeedings by his brother Jonathan as "a madman and a drunkard."

Jonathan Tone Cadet 64th Regt. and afterwards Lieut. 22nd Regt. Instituted Chancery Proceedings against Peter and obtained possession of the property. Will Pr. 1793.

Mary mar. John Dunbavin (not William as stated by Madden) another daug. married — Clarendon.

William Henry Tone, East India Service.

Mathew Tone b. 1770. In the French Service (executed)

Arthur Tone b. 1782. In Dutch Navy lost at sea.

Mary Tone in 1797 married a young Swiss merchant named Graigue, died in St. Domingo about 1799

Fanny Tone died of decline

by the Volunteers of that town, whither he proceeded, in company with Russell, and, in conjunction with Neilson and others, founded the first club which took the name of the Society of United Irishmen. He then returned to Dublin, and in conjunction with James Napper Tandy and the Honourable Simon Butler, formed a similar society in the capital. In the spring of 1792, the Catholic Committee appointed Tone to the office of agent to their body, with the title of assistant secretary, then vacant by the resignation of Richard Burke, with a salary of £200 per annum.

Tone's exertions in his new office were incessant and invaluable to the Catholics. His pen was never idle in writing addresses, manifestos, and resolutions, in favour of their cause. On the 14th of July, 1792, Tone assisted at Belfast, in his Volunteer uniform, in the celebration of the success of the French Revolution, and commemoration of the anniversary of the taking of the Bastile, when about six thousand Volunteers and inhabitants voted an address of congratulation to the French people.

In December, 1792, the Catholic Convention, under the name of the General Committee, assembled in Dublin. The scheme of this convention, which produced such extraordinary results, had been devised by Myles Keon, of Keon Brook, in the County of Leitrim; but the energy, activity, talent, and intrepidity which carried it into practical effect, through innumerable difficulties, party opposition, paltry fears, and base acts of perfidy, on the part of soi-disant friends and advocates of the cause, were exhibited by T. W. Tone. With respect to his political views, when he formed the Northern and Leinster Societies of United Irishmen, he says, "he thinks it right to mention that at this time the establishment of a republic was not the immediate object of his speculations; his object was to secure the independence of his country under any form of government",* &c.

But in the course of eighteen months, he gave practical proof of his opinions being in favour of republicanism, and indeed, from the commencement of his career, they seem to have been in that direction.

In 1792, when Tone was the leading advocate of the Catholic cause, the sub-committee consisted of the following persons:—

John Keogh, Thomas Fitzgerald, Thomas Braughall, Edward Byrne, Randall M'Donnell, Thomas Ryan, M.D., Martin F. Lynch, Hugh Hamill, Denis Thomas O'Brien, Thomas Warren, John Sweetman, Secretary.

The other foremost advocates of the Catholic cause in 1792, were:—The Honourable Simon Butler (subsequently proscribed, had to fly the country, and died in Wales); Major

* "Tone's Life", vol. i., p. 55.

Edward Sweetman (killed in a duel); Sir Thomas French (committed suicide); Edward Devereux; Christopher Bellew; William Coppinger; J. J. M'Donnell; Dr. McDonnell; Dr. M'Dermott; Harvey Hay (hanged in 1798); Owen O'Connor; Luke Teeling (proscribed in 1798); O'Gorman of Mayo; James Plunkett (proscribed in 1798, had to fly the country); Richard M'Cormick (proscribed and a fugitive in 1798); Dr. William James M'Neven; and T. A. Emmet (banished); James Nangle; Sir Thomas Esmonde; William Todd Jones (proscribed and imprisoned in 1798).

Tone, and the political friends with whom he was most intimately connected in public affairs, and also in social intercourse, were in the habit of designating each other by sobriquets which have been recorded by young Tone, in his father's Memoirs, vol. i., p. 136. In Tone's diary, from 1791 to 1795, they are of constant recurrence:—

Mr. Hutton, or John Hutton	Theobald Wolfe Tone.
P. P., Clerk of the Parish,	Thomas Russell.
The Draper,	William Sinclair.
The Jacobin,	Samuel Neilson.
The Tanner,	Robert Simms.
The Hypocrite,	Dr. M'Donnell.
The Irish Slave,	Thomas M'Cabe.
The Keeper,	Whitley Stokes.
The Tribune,	James Napper Tandy.
The Vintner,	Edward Byrne.
Gog,	John Keogh.
Magog,	Richard M'Cormick.
The Pismire,	Thomas Addis Emmet.
The Czar,	Peter Burrowes.

The first important movement of the Catholic leaders, the most important ever made by them, was the carrying into execution the plan of taking the sense of all the Catholics of Ireland through the means of a convention.* The project of appointing delegates for this purpose had been adopted at a meeting of the general committee, the 17th of March, 1792. The plan devised by Myles Keon, and proposed by Theobald Wolfe Tone, according to Mr. Wyse, was in some respects analogous to one devised by his father in 1760. Wyse's Catholic convention was to be a secret convocation of delegates; they were to hold their hole-and-corner meetings wherever it was possible to escape detection. Tone's Catholic convention was to hold its sittings in face of day, in the metropolis, with all possible publicity; and

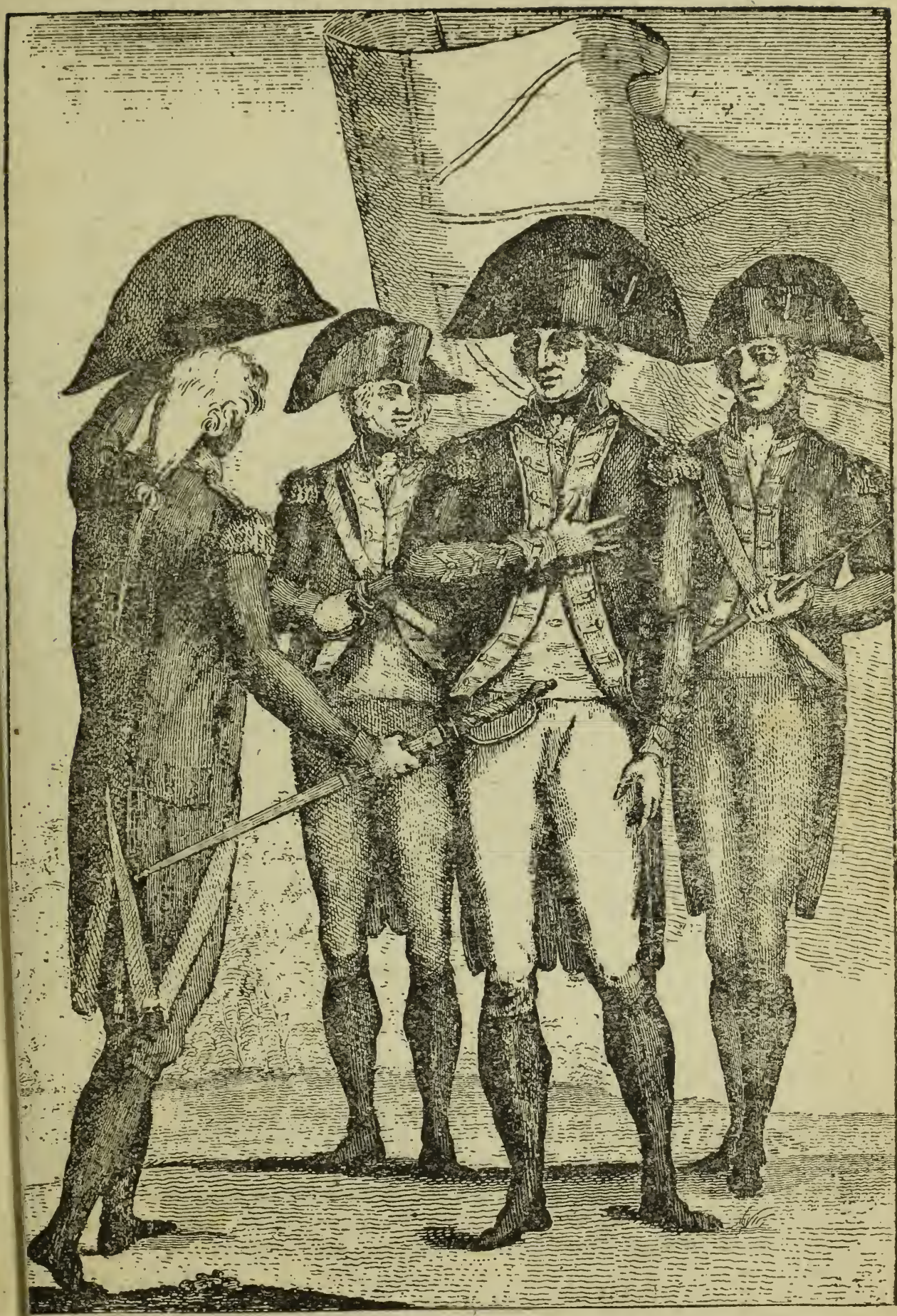
* This convention was the cause of the passing of a measure known as "The Convention Act", which prohibited delegated or representative meetings outside Parliament.

when the delegates were appointed to carry over the petition to the king, Tone's influence, and his sense of the important part he had played in bringing this project into execution, had the effect of parading the delegates through the north of Ireland, on their way to London from Dublin. At Belfast, the five delegates, Messrs. Keogh, Byrne, Devereux, Bellew, and French, were received with public honours; the horses were taken from their carriage, and entertainments given them by the leading members of the United Irish Society. The earliest meeting of the delegates was in Taylor's Hall, Back Lane, Dublin, on the 2nd of December, 1792, on which occasion Dr. M'Neven first distinguished himself as an advocate of the claims of the great majority of his countrymen. The Catholic convention of December, 1792, was then, virtually the work of Theobald Wolfe Tone.* [It is important to note that this was the first representative meeting of Irish Catholics since the assembly of the Patriot Parliament in 1689]. The power on which its leaders relied for resisting the opposition of the ascendency party, and daring to take so formidable a step, was the spreading influence of the northern societies, based on the principle of uniting Irishmen of all religious persuasions. This convention was to Catholic claims in 1792, precisely what the Clare election was to them in 1829; and it is singular enough to find the same man, whose clear preception distinguished the portentous signs of the times at the latter period, and who saw no alternative but Catholic emancipation or civil war, coming forward in his place in the Irish parliament in favour of a similar measure, with the view of averting the evils with which the successful proceedings of the Catholic convention were evidently fraught. The Honourable Lieutenant Arthur Wellesley was returned for the borough of Trim in the latter part of 1790. During the two following years his name is not found in the reports of the debates, as having taken any part in them on any question.

The first speech we find reported of his, was on the 10th of January, 1793, at the opening of the session.† The address to the throne was moved by the Earl of Tyrone. The Honourable Mr. Wellesley seconded the motion. He said: "That at a time when opinions were spreading throughout Europe inimical to kingly government, it behoved us in a particular manner, to lay before our gracious sovereign our determination to support and maintain the constitution; he took notice that under the present reign this country had risen to a state of unexampled prosperity".

* In the list of delegates, the name of Edward Madden, father of R. R. Madden, figures as a delegate for the town of Enniskillen. Ed.

† "Irish Parliamentary Debates", vol. xiii., p. 5.



The Surrender of the French General Humbert
To General Lake at Ballinamuck September 8th 1798.

He said that "the augmentation of the forces, as mentioned in the speech, had, from the circumstances of the times, become necessary. He reprobated in very severe terms the conduct of the French toward their king, and their invasion of the territories of sovereign princes, and their irruption into the Austrian Netherlands. He applauded the conduct of the administration of this country for issuing the proclamation of the 8th of November; and he condemned the attempt of a set of men styling themselves national guards, appearing in military array—a set of men unknown in the country, except by their attempts to overthrow the government; the conduct of the administration on that occasion entitled them to the confidence of the people. In regard to what had been recommended in the speech from the throne, respecting our Catholic fellow-subjects, he could not suppress expressing his approbation on that head; he had no doubt of the loyalty of the Catholics of this country, and he trusted that when the question would be brought forward respecting that description of men, that we would lay aside all animosities, and act with moderation and dignity, and not with the fury and violence of partizans".*

The bill for the relief of Roman Catholics was brought into the house in the following month. On the 25th of February a motion was made by a Mr. Graydon with reference to that bill, before it went into committee, "to limit the number of freeholders capable of voting at elections, to those possessing freeholds of £10 yearly value". Mr. Wellesley said, "He had no objection to giving the Roman Catholics the benefits of the constitution, and, in his opinion, the bill conferred them in an ample degree; but the motion of the honourable gentleman seemed calculated to promote disunion. With the bill as it stands, the Protestants are satisfied, and the Roman Catholics contented; why, then, agitate a question which may disturb both? It has been said that admitting the forty shilling freeholders of the Roman Catholic persuasion to vote at elections, will annihilate the Protestant establishment in Ireland; and he has founded this assertion upon a supposition that the Roman Catholics will, in voting, be directed by their priests; but have not Roman Catholics, like Protestants, various interests and various passions by which they are swayed? The influence of their landlords, their good or bad opinion of the candidates, their own interests, and a thousand other motives? It appeared to him that they should not vote in a body, or as had been supposed, if the bill should pass in the present form; but if the motion of the honourable

* "Debates of the Irish Parliament", vol. xi., 1793.

gentleman should be adopted, then, indeed, they would undoubtedly unite in support of Roman Catholic candidates".*

In the preceding year, on the presentation of the petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland to the House, which was rejected by an overwhelming majority of 208 to 23, the solicitor-general, Mr. Toler, plainly expressed his opinion, that "the petition, though under a very modest guise, considering where it came from, he was inclined to suspect as a piece of the same principles" as those, he went on to state, "which were taught by political quacks who tell us that radical reformation was necessary in parliament. He had seen papers signed by Theobald M'Kenna, with Simon Butler in the chair, and Napper Tandy lending his countenance".

"Such fellows" (to use the language of Lord Headfort) "were too despicable to notice, and therefore he should not drag them from their obscurity". In a subsequent part of the debate, in disclaiming supposed personal allusions to an honourable member, he said, "he did not allude to him, but to that blasted society called United Irishmen".†

The influence attributed to the reviled society in the accomplishment of the Catholic Relief Bill was pretty obvious in the language of the members of the Irish parliament; and the introduction of the Convention Bill in the month of July, 1793, was indicative enough of the vindictive feelings entertained with respect to the means by which that measure of relief was effected. When his Majesty, in 1793, was pleased to recommend the case of his Roman Catholic subjects to the Irish parliament, Lord Chancellor Clare evinced his disposition towards the swinish multitude, as he termed the people on a previous occasion, in these words: "I did not expect", said he, "that any set of men would have dared to approach the throne with a gross and malignant deception upon the father of his people. I therefore seized this first opportunity to reprobate and detect it". In the progress of the debate, Mr. Foster, in the Commons, attributed to the fact of rousing and supporting this claim, all kinds of plots and conspiracies; and in the Lords, the Archbishop of Cashel, who had previously declared in the House that "Roman Catholic religion was a religion of knaves and fools", strenuously opposed the motion.

Tone, at the time the establishment of a political society in Belfast had been determined on, had never been in that town; he was only known there as a writer whose pen had been employed in the service of the Whig Club and in behalf

* "Parliamentary Debates", vol. xiii., p. 313.
† "Irish Parliamentary Debates", vol. xii., p. 202.

of the Catholics. In the spring of 1791, his friend Russell having been appointed to an ensigncy on full pay in the 64th regiment of foot, then quartered in Belfast, visited that town, and became acquainted with many of the popular members of the Volunteer Association. At their instance he wrote to Tone to draw up a declaration, in which the Catholic question was to be noticed in favourable terms. Tone complied with this request, but when the declaration came to be read by the Belfast Volunteers, the passage alluding to the settlement of the Catholic claims, "for the sake of unanimity, was withdrawn for the present".*

This was the first connection of Tone with the politics of Belfast, and it probably recommended him to Neilson, and those who thought with him on the subject of Catholic emancipation. In the beginning of October, 1791, Tone states that "he was invited to spend a few days in Belfast, in order to assist in framing rules and declarations of the first club of United Irishmen, and to cultivate a personal acquaintance with those men whom, though he highly esteemed, he knew as yet but by reputation".

In consequence of this invitation, he went down with his friend Russell (who at this time, having quitted the army, had returned to Dublin), and on arrival at Belfast, the persons whom he names as "having some reasons to esteem himself particularly fortunate in forming connections with", were Samuel Neilson, Robert and William Simms, William Sinclair, and Thomas M'Cabe, "the men most distinguished for their virtue, talent, and patriotism". He proceeds to say: "We formed our club, of which I wrote the declaration, and certainly the formation of that club commenced a new epoch in the politics of Ireland".

After remaining about three weeks in Belfast, Tone and Russell returned with instructions to cultivate the leaders in the popular interest, being Protestants, and, if possible, to form in the capital a club of United Irishmen. It is evident that the idea of forming the Society of United Irishmen originated with Samuel Neilson, met with the concurrence of Henry Joy M'Cracken and Thomas Russell, was adopted by the Simmses,† M'Tier, M'Cabe, Hazlitt, and Sinclair; that Tone reduced that plan into form, and acted at the onset, in the organization of it, in accordance with the views previously taken up of those already named, and in connection, a little later, with other members of considerable influence from their wealth and station in the town.

In fact, strictly speaking, Samuel Neilson was the originator, and Tone the organizer, of the society, the framer of its declaration, the pensman to whom the details

* See "Tone's Life", by his Son, American edition, vol. i., p. 51.

† The Simmses were part proprietors of "The Northern Star".

of its formation were intrusted. The object of Tone in assisting in the formation of the Belfast and Dublin societies is not to be mistaken—he clearly announces it in his diary. In concluding the account of the part he took in the formation of the former, he plainly states, "to break the connection with England, the never-failing source of all our political evils, and to assist the independence of my country —these are my objects".

That Russell was acquainted with his views, we have a proof in the letter addressed to him by Tone in the early part of 1791, which fell into the hands of the government.* Whatever the republican tendencies of Neilson and his associates may have been, the probability is, that although, if they had the power of choosing a form of government, they would have given the preference to a republic over any other, they had at the beginning no definite object beyond parliamentary independence, reform, and emancipation. Tone's influence in the Belfast societies suffered no diminution during his stay in Ireland; but in Dublin, his republican opinions had a very different effect. With few exceptions, the principal leaders of the society which Tone had just formed, were apprehensive of being committed by his opinions. He says: "The club was scarcely formed before I lost all pretensions to anything like influence in their measures".

We find by Tone's account of his first visit to Belfast, in October, 1791, that before the United Irish Society was yet organized, there was a secret committee of the leading political men of the popular party in the town. "Their mode of doing business was by a secret committee, who are not known or suspected of co-operating, but who in fact direct the secret movements of Belfast". The members of this secret committee were William Sinclair, Samuel Neilson, William M'Cleery, Thomas M'Cabe, William Simms, Robert Simms, Henry Hazlitt, William Tennent, ——Campbell, Gilbert M'Ilveen.

On the 14th of October, 1791, Thomas Russell and T. W. Tone were admitted members of it. It was at the meeting on this occasion the arrangements for the first public meeting of the Belfast Club of United Irishmen were entered into. M'Tier to be in the chair, Sinclair to move the resolutions, Simms to second them, Neilson to move the printing, and Tone and Russell to state the sentiments of the people of Dublin.

On the 18th of October, the meeting took place, and Tone having dined with Neilson, attended it. The club consisted of thirty-six members originally, and six new members were proposed on this occasion. The counterfoil of a

* "Commons' Report from Secret Committee", Appendix, p. 11.

certificate of membership in the Society of United Irishmen of Theobald Wolfe Tone was in the possession of Dr. Madden, and is thus filled up:

"First Society of United Irishmen, No. 20, granted to Theobald Wolfe Tone, 10th of June, 1795.

"H. I. M'C.

"Theod. Wolfe Tone".

The latter signature is in the handwriting of Tone. As he was a member of the Belfast society from the date of its formation, it must be concluded that it was after the society changed its organisation that this certificate of the 10th of June, 1795, was of the newly organised society which was given to him.

A committee of correspondence was formed, the latter part of 1791, which consisted of Neilson, M'Tier, Hazlitt, and Simms. The chief business done was entering into communication with the Catholic Committee, and soliciting the co-operation of the Dublin popular leaders. An erroneous impression generally prevails with respect to the direction of the affairs of the United Irish societies throughout the country. The directory of the Leinster societies, the principal members of which, subsequently to 1796, were O'Connor, M'Nevin, Emmet, Bond, and others of the Dublin leaders at different periods, it is commonly supposed was the only one in existence; such however is not the fact. Ultimately there were four nominal directories, one for each of the provinces; but two only were regularly organised. The Ulster directory was the first established. The principal members of the Ulster directory were Samuel Neilson, two merchants of the name of Simms, and Dr. White. The Munster directory was only in existence a short time before the suppression of the rebellion. The Connaught directory was likewise of short duration, and its action was more limited than any of the others. The Ulster directory was formed the beginning of 1795. In 1796, Oliver Bond was associated with its other members, and at a later period, Arthur O'Connor, and Lord Edward Fitzgerald. In O'Connor's examination, he states that "he acted with that association in conducting the affairs of the union, and when the Leinster organisation was completed, early in 1797, he was regularly elected a member of that executive, though he declined to act officially. He, however, continued in the confidence of the union, and was consulted by them on all affairs of moment".*

The circumstances of the early existence of the Ulster directory, and the emanation from it of the most important

* "Lords' Report, 1798". Examination of state prisoners.

measures, subsequently taken up, and attempted to be carried into effect by the Leinster directory, is worthy of notice. These measures, it is generally imagined, originated with the latter. Arthur O'Connor became a member of the Leinster directory in November, 1796; Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and the late Lord Cloncurry, Madden states on the authority of the latter, were nominated at the same time; T. A. Emmet was not appointed till January, 1797; and Dr. J. W. M'Neven about the same period. "None of them were members of the united system previously to September or October, 1796".

In November, 1796, Arthur O'Connor, accompanied by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, visited Belfast on the occasion of the former offering himself as a candidate for the representation of the county of Antrim. They took a house in the immediate vicinity of Belfast, and resided there for some months. During their stay, their intercourse with the Belfast leaders prepared the way for the combined action of the Dublin and northern societies. But long previously to their arrival, foreign aid for the accomplishment of their designs was contemplated by both directories. The nature of the negotiations between parties in Ireland and the French government at various times, is well deserving of attention, and a rapid sketch of former applications of a similar kind may not be uninteresting or uninstructive.

From the period of the armament afforded by Louis XIV. to James II. when 6,000 French troops landed at Cork, under the command of Count Lauzun, the 14th March, 1689, no hostile attempt had been made on the coast of Ireland until the 21st February, 1760, when Commodore Francois Thurot arrived in the Bay of Carrickfergus on a marauding expedition, with three vessels of war, the "Belleisle", of 44, the "Blonde", of 32, and "Terpsichore", of 24 guns, and landed between 700 and 800 men at Kilroot Point, about two miles east of Carrickfergus. The Castle of Carrickfergus was taken by the enemy after a slight resistance; the total amount of its force consisting only of 138 persons under arms.

On the 22nd of February, Thurot despatched an officer with a flag of truce to Belfast, demanding a supply of provisions to the amount of £1,500 sterling for his troops, and menacing both Belfast and Carrickfergus with destruction if his application was refused. An answer was returned that the application would be complied with. On the 23rd a part of the provisions were sent; and on the 25th, news having reached the French general that the troops were marching against him from Belfast, he re-embarked with his men, and immediately set sail. On the 28th the French squadron was attacked and captured off the Isle of

Man by the "Eolus", "Pallas", and "Brilliant" frigates, under the command of Captain Elliot, and Thurot was killed in the action.

Thurot was a grandson of an Irish officer of the name of Farrell, who had served in the army of James II., and had fled to France with his master, where he died. He left an only son, who was brought up at Boulogne by his mother's family under their name. He married at Boulogne, and his son, Mons. Thurot, at an early age went to England, and forming some connection with a smuggler at Anglesea, he occasionally went in command of his vessels. From Anglesea he proceeded to Carlingford, and transacted the business of his employer there for about a year. He then went to Ireland, lived for two years in the service of Lord B——, subsequently in the service of Lord Antrim, and once more, after a short time, took to the old smuggling business.

From 1748 till 1752 he traded between London and Boulogne, and was at length arrested at the latter place on a charge of smuggling. After suffering imprisonment at Boulogne and Dunkirk, he was sent to Paris, underwent an examination as to the best means of stopping contraband trade, was liberated, got the command of a sloop of war and of the small squadron which was captured by Captain Elliot.*

The news of the landing of the French caused the gentry of the counties Antrim, Down, and Armagh to enrol their tenants and dependents in volunteer corps, and these, to the number of 5,352, were provided with arms, and marched to Carrickfergus, within four days of the capture of that place by the enemy.

On that occasion, the tenants of Lord Charlemont, armed and clothed at their own expense, took the field, and the appearance of these armed peasants, on their march to Carrickfergus, his lordship says, "was singular and formidable".† This was not the first enrolment of the northerns in volunteer companies. In 1745, when the news of the rebellion in Scotland reached Belfast, several independent companies were formed.

In the preceding occurrences may be traced the events which made the possibility of obtaining foreign aid familiar to the northern reformers, and likewise the necessity of banding together the people in military associations, obvious to those whose loyalty was animated by a detestation of "Popery and arbitrary power". It had long been the custom to attribute every popular movement in Ireland to the influence of French politics. The author from whose

* Vide "Annual Register", 1760.

† The Charlemont Papers, pp. 10-13, Hist. MSS. Comm. Ed.

excellent history of Carrickfergus the preceding account of Thurot's attempt is chiefly taken (Samuel M'Skimmin), labours under the old delusion. He maintains that the Defenders were in open communication with the French, and had made overtures to the government of that country for the invasion of Ireland.

There can be no doubt that it was the object of France to keep alive the fear of invasion both in England and in Ireland, to exhaust, by all possible means, the resources of the country, and to waste its energies in preparations for resisting invasions, which, with the exception of Conflans' meditated descent, for nearly 200 years prior to 1796, had no existence but in the minds of the enemies of the king's peace, and of his people in Ireland,*

M'Skimmin† asserts that an early treasonable intercourse was kept up between Ireland and France, and that the Defenders had sought French aid. He likewise refers to a passage in the "Gentleman's Magazine" of 1792, page 1211, as affording proof that in November, 1792, a treasonable correspondence was opened with France by the political leaders of Belfast. On referring to the passage in question, it will be found that some of the Belfast societies had followed the example of the London Corresponding Society in sending congratulatory addresses to the National Assembly of France; but no communication with France of the kind mentioned by M'Skimmin, is there any evidence of ever having taken place.

The address referred to, and the reply of the President of the National Assembly, will be found at page 191 of the former series of this work. Another authority on which he rests is that of Sir R. Musgrave, who states that "in 1791 and 1792 Rabaud de St. Etienne, the bosom friend of Brissot, the famous leader of the Girondist party in the French National Assembly, passed some time between Dublin and Belfast, sowing the seeds of future combustion".

* In 1536 foreign assistance was sought by Thomas Fitzgerald, then in rebellion, whose father, the Earl of Kildare, was at that time a prisoner in the Tower of London. The messenger employed was Dominick Power, of Waterford: his mission was to the Emperor Charles V., "to crave his aid to conquer Ireland".

He presented him with twelve great hawks, and fourteen fair hobbies; but the emperor informed him that he came too late, for that his father, the Lord Thomas, and five of his uncles, had been executed at London, the 3rd of February. The emperor subsequently sued Henry VIII. to permit Power to return to his country. His pardon was granted, but Mr. Power prudently declined to return. The tender mercies of Henry VIII. in regard to the father and five uncles of his friend Fitzgerald seem to have made some impression on his mind. He remained on the Continent, and died at Lisbon.—"Smith's Hist. of Waterford", p. 129.

† There is an interesting and useful article on McSkimmin in "The Nation", for March, 23rd, 1843. Ed.

In the autobiography of A. H. Rowan, it is certainly stated that about December, 1792, an offer was sent from the French Convention, directed "to the popular leaders in Ireland", stating that they would deposit in any bank in Europe the pay of 40,000 men for six months, on the condition that the Irish would declare an absolute independence of England; but the agent appears to have met with no encouragement. In M'Neven's "Pieces of Irish History", the same circumstance is also repeated, and its occurrence is dated "the summer of 1793".

In the Report of the Commons' Secret Committee it is stated, "that previous to the summer of 1796 no formal and authorized communication appears to have taken place between the Irish executive and the French government, though Jackson had been sent by the latter to Ireland in 1794".*

In the summer of 1796 Lord Edward Fitzgerald, accompanied by O'Connor, proceeded by Hamburgh to Switzerland, and O'Connor, who entered France without his companion, had an interview with General Hoche, the object of his mission being to apply for assistance in men and arms from the French Directory. In the March of 1797, Edward Lewins, a Dublin Solicitor, was sent to France as the accredited agent of the Irish union. In June, 1797, a second agent, Dr. M'Neven, was despatched with the necessary credentials to the French minister at Hamburgh, with increased earnestness, urging their application on the French government, and instructed to negotiate, if possible, a loan of half a million, or at least £300,000. The force solicited was one not exceeding 10,000, nor less than 5,000, with 40,000 stand of arms, and the assistance of such Irish officers as were then in the French service. The identical memorial presented by M'Neven to the French minister, and a copy of which exists in the French foreign department, was shown by Lord Clare to M'Neven, on his examination before the Committee. It becomes a matter of curiosity to know something of the members of the Directory at that period, namely, in June, 1797. The inquiries, however, might, perhaps, be limited to the career and character of only one of them.†

* "Report of the Secret Committee", 1798.

† The Marquis Barthelemy was born in 1750. He was appointed secretary of legation at the court of Stockholm, subsequently at the court of St. James, and for a short time charge d'affaires. He was again sent to London to announce the acceptation of the constitution by Louis the Sixteenth. He negotiated the peace with Prussia in 1795, and subsequently with Spain, and also with the Elector of Hesse. In April, 1796, he was appointed to negotiate for peace with Mr. Wickham, and was unsuccessful. In June, 1797, he was elected a member of the Directory was arrested the same yean, and was transported to Cayenne, escaped six months afterwards to the United States, and from that

In April, 1794, the Rev. William Jackson, an emissary of the French, arrived in Dublin, accompanied by Mr. John Cockayne, a London Solicitor of Lyons Inn, on a treasonable mission. He had received his instructions from an Irishman, named Madgett, long settled in France, and employed in the office of minister for foreign affiairs. Jackson had been residing in Paris—a man verging on 56 or 58 years of age, of ruined fortune, unfitted for his profession, and hopeless of any preferment in it. His treasonable mission extended to England, and commenced in that country. He was furnished in Paris with letters of introduction to John Horne Tooke and a Dr. Crawford; these, however, for some unexplained reason, had not been delivered by him. His mission, as far as England was concerned, was unfavourable to the objects he had in view, and he wrote to that effect letters, addressed to Mr. John Stone and Mr. Benjamin Beresford, both engaged in commercial affairs in Paris, cognizant of his mission, and in communication, it would appear, with the French government. Mr. Beresford was married to a sister of Archibald Hamilton Rowan. Cockayne had been an old friend and legal adviser of Jackson, and possessed the entire confidence of the latter, and thus had the secret of Jackson's treasonable mission communicated to him.

Cockayne, from motives of loyalty, as he alleged, lost no time in turning his old friend and client to some account, communicated Jackson's secret mission to Mr. Pitt, and stipulated to be guaranteed against losses he might incur, to the extent of £300. Cockayne was a prudent as well as a loyal attorney. Jackson owed him, as he subsequently stated, from £250 to £300; and as he must lose the amount of this debt if his old friend and client the debtor was hanged, he discreetly secured himself, and had Mr. Pitt pledged to the indemnity.

By Mr. Pitt's instructions, Cockayne accompanied Jackson to Ireland on his mission of treason, with a free pardon in

country proceeded to England. The Directory placed him on the proscribed list of emigrants. After the revolution of the 18th Brumaire he returned to France, and was named vice-president of the senate, "conservateur", and count of the empire; in 1814, president of the senate, and filled this office when the "decheance" of Napoleon and his family was proclaimed in the senate; on the restoration of Louis the Eighteenth, promoted to the rank of grand officer of the legion of honour, 4th January, 1815. During the Hundred Days he was left in retirement. On the return of Louis the Eighteenth he was created marquis. In 1819 he proposed a memorial to the king to restrict the franchise, on account of the too great extension of it by the article of the charter, which gave that privilege to every citizen paying 300 francs of direct taxes. His proposal was rejected as an anti-national one, and the year following it was carried by the ministry. In 1825 he was still living.—"Biographie des Contemporains", tome i. p. 257.

his pocket, as far as he (Cockayne) was concerned, for all acts of treason that might be done by him while engaged on that mission—attending Jackson, watching all his movements, and allowing him full scope for communication with all parties in Ireland, he chose to communicate with. Jackson brought with him a letter of introduction to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, of which fact the government appear to have had no knowledge, and Tone in his journals makes no allusion to it. That Jackson was wholly unexpected by the popular leaders in Dublin may be inferred from the circumstance that Tone and others of his party at first were disposed to believe that Jackson was an agent of the British government. In a copy of Emmet's and M'Neven's "Pieces of Irish History", purchased at the sale of Hamilton Rowan's library, the following manuscript note in the handwriting of Rowan, occurs at the bottom of the page where mention is made of Jackson's mission—"Lord Edward Fitzgerald declined to have any conversation with Jackson". Arthur O'Connor stated to me that he had no communication with him.

But Cockayne and his dupe were not dependent on Lord Edward Ftizgerald or O'Connor for access to the leaders of the United Irishmen. Cockayne had the advantage of acquaintance and relations, in the way of business too, with a very popular, pleasant, patriotic barrister of the name of Leonard M'Nally.

"The counsellor" hung loosely on the skirts of the society of United Irishmen and the Catholic Committee. He was a social gentleman, greatly given to punning and saying smart things of equivocal meaning, an excellent companion, a good fellow, in Ireland; in France, diseur de bons mots, mauvais homme. M'Nally dallied gaily with sedition, yet always with discretion and impunity. But it was otherwise with his associates—few pleasant gentlemen had ever to lament the untimely fate and premature loss of a greater number of hanged friends than Counsellor Leonard M'Nally.

M'Nally and Cockayne had been old acquaintances; their intimacy had commenced at the Inns of Court in England, when the former was keeping his terms there. M'Nally had been employed as an electioneering agent in Lord Hood's celebrated contest for Westminster, and in that capacity Cockayne and he had come in contract on several occasions; and it is well deserving of notice, that Cockayne, in his evidence on Jackson's trial, admitted incautiously that Jackson, as well as himself, had formerly known Mr. M'Nally in London.

The attorney-general, in his opening speech on the trial of Jackson, said "Mr. Cockayne, at the desire of Mr. Pitt, consented to accompany Jackson, in order to render abortive his wicked purposes. Towards the end of March Mr. Jackson

set out for Dublin, accompanied by Mr. Cockayne; they arrived the 1st of April, 1794; they lodged at a house called Hyde's Coffee-house, at the corner of Palace Row (Palace Street, Dame Street), and it appears that Jackson in a day or two after his arrival made an acquaintance, or renewed an old one, with a gentleman of the name of Leonard M'Nally. Mr. M'Nally, merely, no doubt, from the hospitality in which Irishmen are never deficient, invited the two strangers to dine with him, and as a man of manners always does, he selected an agreeable company to meet them. Mr. Simon Butler and a Mr. Lewins were among others present at this entertainment. The conversation was naturally turned by the gentleman who had come on this kind mission to the state of the country. Much talk there was about the discontented state of this kingdom; anxiously did he inquire how far the people would be willing to rise if there should be an invasion by the French. I only mean to say that such was the turn of the conversation introduced by Mr. Jackson. I mean not to charge any man who has not an opportunity of defending himself. Opinions on the subject were delivered by the host and his guests. Mr. Butler held that, though there were some discontents in various parts of the country, yet that the generality of the people having property and education were loyal, and had a considerable influence over their tenantry, and that the invaders would be foiled in the attempt. Other gentlemen entertained different opinions. During this conversation something was said of Mr. A. H. Rowan, then in prison in Newgate for publishing a seditious libel. Mr. Jackson, imagining that Mr. Rowan could give him full information on the subject he had so much at heart, expressed a desire to be introduced to his acquaintance. Some difficulty there was, both with the friends of Mr. Rowan and others, as to the authority of Mr. Jackson to treat at all on the part of the French government. Mr. Lewins, however, undertook to introduce the prisoner to Mr. Rowan".*

Thus, within a few days of their arrival in Dublin, we find Jackson, Cockayne, the Hon. Simon Butler, and Mr. Lewins, an incipient attorney, nephew of one of the most eminent of the Catholic leaders, and most obnoxious to government, Thomas Braughall (that Lewins the future accredited agent of the United Irishmen at Paris), dining with "the counsellor" at his abode, No. 57 Dominick Street. Cockayne in his evidence on the trial of Jackson, in reference to this dinner at M'Nally's, deposed:—

"The conversation turned on the general politics of the day, and also the politics relative to the Irish nation. I

* Trial of the Rev Wm. Jackson, from reports of William Ridgeway, William Lapp, and John Schoales, Esqrs., barristers-at-law, p. 33.

cannot swear what Mr. M'Nally said, or what Mr. Lewins said, or what Mr. Butler said; they were all engaged in conversation". Lewins subsequently introduced Jackson to Rowan. After that meeting Jackson and Cockayne went to breakfast with Rowan; Jackson said Tone was to be there. At the meeting none present but Tone, Rowan, Jackson, and Cockayne. The conversation was of a plan to send somebody to France. Mr. Tone was asked to go. "At one time Tone said he would go, at another he receded. He gave his reasons for agreeing to go and for receding".

At another meeting at Rowan's saw Dr. Reynolds; thinks he saw Tone tiwce.* At one meeting it was proposed that Reynolds should go to France to carry some instruction to the French. This was when Tone left Dublin abruptly, without saying whether he would or would not go. Jackson said to him (Cockayne) he did not so much approve of Reynolds as Mr. Tone. Reynolds's proposed errand to France was the same as Tone's—"to carry a paper there to the French Convention. The paper was drawn up in Newgate. The paper was in the hands of Tone, and it was read by him and Rowan".

The treasonable paper referred to by Cockayne was delivered by Tone to Jackson, but no sooner delivered than it was demanded by Tone, when he reflected on the imprudence of his act. He, however, gave it on the spot to Rowan and authorized him to take a copy of it. At his next interview he says he discovered that Rowan had taken two or three copies of the paper and given them to Jackson, and was informed by Rowan that he had burned the original. Rowan, however, states he gave back the original to Tone.

On the 24th of April, 1794, Jackson wrote a letter, signed Thomas Popkins, to Mr. Beresford, and procured Cockayne to copy it, wherein he says:—"You are requested to see Madgett directly, and inform him that this evening the opinion of two eminent council are sent to him". The opinion referred to was Tone's "Memoir of Ireland", revised by Rowan.

Four days later, the 28th of April, 1794, Jackson was arrested on a charge of treason, and in due course was tried and convicted; he anticipated his doom in twelve months from the date of his arrest, on the 30th of April, 1795.

Extracts from a Memoir on the state of Ireland, prepared for the purpose of being sent to France by Dr. Jackson, and proved on his trial. Written by T. W. Tone.

"The situation of Ireland and England is fundamentally different in this—the government of England is national, that of Ireland provincial. The interest of the first is the

* Tone says he had three interviews with Jackson.

same with that of the people—of the last, directly opposite. The people of Ireland are divided into three sects; the Established Church, the Dissenters, and the Catholics; the first, infinitely the smallest portion, have engrossed, besides the whole church patronage, all the profits and honours of the country exclusively, and a very great share of the landed property. They are, of course, aristocrats, adverse to any change, and decided enemies of the French Revolution. The Dissenters, which are much more numerous, are the most enlightened body of the nation, they are steady republicans, devoted to liberty, and through all the stages of the French Revolution, have been enthusiastically attached to it. The Catholics, the great body of the people, are in the lowest degree of ignorance, and are ready for any change, because no change can make them worse. The whole peasantry of Ireland—the most oppressed and wretched in Europe—may be said to be Catholic. They have, within these two years, received a certain degree of information and manifested a proportionate degree of discontent, by various insurrections, &c. They are a bold, hardy race, and make excellent soldiers. There is nowhere a higher spirit of aristocracy than in all the privileged orders, the clergy and gentry of Ireland, down to the very lowest, to countervail which, there appears now a spirit rising in the people which never existed before, but which is spreading most rapidly, as appears by the Defenders, as they are called, and other insurgents. If the people of Ireland be 4, 500,000, as it seems probable they are, the Established Church may be reckoned at 450,000, the Dissenters at 900,000, the Catholics at 3,150,000. The prejudices in England are adverse to the French nation, under whatever form of government. It seems idle to suppose the present rancour against the French is owing merely to their being republicans; it has been cherished by the manners of four centuries, and aggravated by continual wars. It is morally certain that any invasion of England would unite all ranks in opposition to the invaders. In Ireland, a conquered, oppressed, and insulted country, the name of England and her power is universally odious, save with those who have an interest in maintaining it—a body, however, only formidable from situation and property, but which the first convulsion would level in the dust; on the contrary, the great bulk of the people of Ireland would be ready to throw off the yoke in this country, if they saw any force sufficiently strong to resort to for defence until arrangements could be made; the Dissenters are enemies to the English power from reason and from reflection, the Catholics from a hatred of the English name—in a word, the prejudices of one country are directly averse, of the other directly favourable, to an invasion. The government

of Ireland is only to be looked upon as a government of force; the moment a superior force appears, it would tumble at once, as being founded neither in the interests nor in the affections of the people. It may be said, the people of Ireland show no political exertion. In the first place, public spirit is completely depressed by the recent persecutions of several kinds: the convention act, the gunpowder act, &c. Declarations of government, parliamentary unanimity, or declarations of grand juries—all proceeding from aristocrats whose interest is adverse to that of the people, and who think such conduct necessary for their security—are no obstacles; the weight of such men falls in the general welfare, and their own tenantry and dependents would desert and turn against them; the people have no way of expressing their discontent civiliter, which is at the same time greatly aggravated by those measures; and they are, on the other hand, in that semi-barbarous state which is, of all others, the best adapted for making war. The spirit of Ireland cannot, therefore, be calculated from newspaper publications, county meetings, &c., at which the gentry only meet and speak for themselves. They are so situated that they have but one way left to make their sentiments known, and that is by war. The church establishment and tithes are very severe grievances, and have been the cause of numberless local insurrections. In a word, from reason, reflection, interest, prejudice, the spirit of change, the misery of the great bulk of the nation, and above all, the hatred of the English name resulting from the tyranny of near seven centuries, there seems little doubt but an invasion in sufficient force would be supported by the people. There is scarce any army in the country; and the militia, the bulk of whom are Catholics, would, to a moral certainty, refuse to act if they saw such a force as they could look to for support".*

The following account of Tone's acquaintance and communication with Jackson is taken from the statement, which he delivered to his friends Knox and Marcus Berresford:—

"Some days previous to the Drogheda assizes, I was informed by A. ——† that there was a gentleman in town who was very recently arrived from France, and who, he suspected, was in the confidence of the Comite de Salut Public. I was very desirous to see him, in order to hear some account of the sate of France which might be depended on. A. —— accordingly wrote a note, which he gave me to deliver, stating that he could not have the

* The above extracts are taken from the Report of the Trial of Dr. Jackson, by Messrs. Ridgeway, Schoales, and Lapp. Published by J. Exshaw, Dublin.

† Leonard MacNally.

pleasure of seeing the gentleman next day, being Sunday, but would be glad he would call any other time, and I believe added that the bearer was his particular friend. I did not then nor since ask A. —— how he became acquainted with the gentleman, nor do I yet know who introduced him. I went with this note, and saw the gentleman and another person at the hotel where they lodged. I stayed about half an hour, and the conversation was either on mere general politics, or the want of accommodation for travellers in Ireland, the superiority of England in that respect &c. On my rising to depart, the gentleman asked me to dine with him on Wednesday subsequent, which I accordingly agreed to. On the Monday after, as I recollect, I paid a visit to A. ———. which I was in the habit of doing daily for some time back; and while I was there, the gentleman above mentioned and his friend came in together; and after some time he and A. —— entered into close conversation, and his friend and I retired to a distant part of the room, where we talked of the mode of travelling in Ireland, and amused ourselves looking over Taylor's map, for about half an hour. Neither of us heard, nor could hear, the conversation between A. —— and the gentleman. A. —— at length beckoned me over, and I went. He then said that they had been talking of the state of the country; that I knew what that state was as well as anybody; and that it was that gentleman's opinion that if it were made fully known to people in France, they would, to a certainty, afford every assistance to enable the Irish to assert their independence. I said that it would be a most severe and grievous remedy for our abuses, but that I saw no other; for that liberty was shackled in Ireland by such a variety of ways, that the people had no way left to make known their sentiments but by open resistance; that, in the alternative between that and unconditional submission, many would differ; but that I was one of those who, seeing all the danger and horror of a contest, still thought the independence of the country an object worth risking all to obtain; satisfied as I was that, until that were secured, Ireland would never attain to her natural state of power, and opulence, and glory. In these sentiments A. —— concurred, and the gentleman, as I recollect, again said, 'if this were known in France, assistance might certainly be obtained'. The conversation at that time went no farther. I had a latent suspicion he might possibly be an emissary of the British minister, and therefore to mortify him, if that were the case, I spoke with the greatest asperity of the English nation, and of their unjust influence on the government of Ireland. His friend sat a distance during this conversation, and I am sure could have heard no part of it; neither did I inquire, nor do I know, what conversation

A.—— and the gentleman had previous to their beckoning me over; and the reason I did not inquire was, that not knowing how the affair might terminate, and especially not knowing but this person might be an English spy, I determined I would know as little of other people's secrets as I could, consistent with my taking any part in the business".

Tone goes on to state that A. —— ceased not to importune him on behalf of Jackson, till he drew up a memorial or representation of the state of this country for the use of the French government, which he placed in the hands of A.—.*

But it is to be observed, this statement of Tone's is not a full account of his relations with Jackson and the persons whom he had known in communication with him. He drew up this statement for two persons connected with the government, through whose mediation, after the discovery of Jackson's mission, he had escaped prosecution. His son observes:—"The only fact, for obvious and generous reasons, he passes over in silence, is, that any others were privy to these communications with Jackson".

My ever dear Lord

what are the digested
sentiments of the North on the sugar
duties & Mutiny bill? & how
many are there in arms really in
Ulster?

I am my dearest Lord yrs.

Henry Flood

August 7 1781.

Farmley

(Letter from Henry Flood to Lord Charlemont).

* "Tone's Life", vol. i., p. 276.

Thus, Hamilton Rowan, who was then a prisoner in Newgate suffering the penalty of a seditious libel, through the good offices of M'Nally and the instrumentality of Mr. Lewins, was made acquainted with Jackson and Cockayne, and a party to Jackson's mission. A Dr. Reynolds shared the same fate. Opportunities were afforded Mr. Cockayne for entrapping men very obnoxious to the government. Reynolds, however, was of a character very different from that of Rowan.*

The first intimation which Tone received of the discovery of his connection with Jackson was communicated to him by a friend opposed to his political principles, but strongly attached to him; for no man appears ever to have had personal qualities more calculated to attach people to him.

Tone was spending the evening at the house of the father of a young friend of his in Merrion Square: he and his companion were playing duets. Tone was passionately fond of music, though a very indifferent performer on his favourite instrument—the flute. A servant brought a letter for Tone, with orders to deliver it into his own hand. Tone read the letter, and said to his companion, "Phil., we must finish this duet; I must go when it is done". He went away, and the following day the Hon. George Knox, the son of Lord Northland, called on their mutual friend at Merrion

* Dr. Reynolds, in 1793, was summoned to the bar of the House of Lords for refusing to give evidence before the secret committee, respecting the alleged disturbances in the northern provinces. He was committed to Newgate the 28th March, 1793. Reynolds was the president of a convention of members of all the Freemason lodges in the County of Tyrone, which began its sittings in Dungannon, the 7th January, that year. The lodges, whose members were delegated to this convention, were supposed to be connected with the Society of United Irishmen, as those lodges, over which Dr. Reynolds had presided so early as 1782 and 1783, were chiefly occupied with the political questions on which the armed Volunteers of that period were debating. A printed document, in the form of a handbill, fell into my hands, which throws some light on the religious principles of Dr. Reynolds—principles which it is to be feared were too prevalent at that period with many of his northern associates.

"ROBBERY.

"Taken yesterday out of the room in Kilmainham Jail, in which the Grand Jury holds its meetings, a likeness of **Thomas Paine** in a gilt frame. The above being the property of Doctor Reynolds, and he having every reason to believe it was taken by some member of the present Grand Jury, will consider himself much obliged to any man of honour belonging to that body, that will inform him of the persons who committed the above mean and nefarious act.

"Kilmainham Jail, July 19th, 1793".

Reynolds fled to America, and died in 1807, in Philadelphia. Young Tone charges him with having made away with many valuable documents of his father's, and other property, which had been unfortunately committed to his charge when T. W. Tone was on the point of setting out from America to France. R. R. M.

Square. Knox inquired if Tone had received a note he had forwarded to him, and which the servant, not finding him at home, had taken to his (C.'s) house. On hearing it had reached Tone, Knox said, "Well, I suppose you will blame me: I have had a struggle between friendship to that man and the duty I owed to those I am connected with. (Knox then held some official situation). I learned at the Castle that he was implicated in Jackson's treason, and that his life was in jeopardy, and I determined on apprising him of his danger, and giving him timely notice to escape. I felt", said Knox, "that politics were things of a day, but friendship was a matter that was for ever".

Powerful influence was exercised by Tone's friends with the government on his behalf, and with such success that no criminal proceedings against him were instituted. He was required, however, to quit the country, but ample time was allowed him to make the necessary arrangements for his departure.*

During Lord Fitzwilliam's administration of the government in Ireland, Tone was not troubled by government; Mr. Grattan, indeed, remonstrated with the Catholic Committee on their "retaining in the service a man so obnoxious and so deeply compromised". Tone, it is to be remembered, had mortally offended the Whig leaders by refusing his services as a pamphleteer to them.

In February, 1795, the Catholics addressed the king on the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, and forwarded their petition by delegates, of which delegation Tone was secretary, notwithstanding the notoriety of his connection with Jackson.

The government of Lord Fitzwilliam's successor, however, lost no time in notifying to Tone the urgent necessity of his fulfilment of the engagement he had entered into to quit the kingdom. He accordingly prepared for expatriation, and

* [Mr. C. Litton Falkiner says: "No personal episode connected with the struggle between the government and the United Irishmen is more interesting than the relations which existed between Fitzgibbon and Wolfe Tone—the animating spirits of the two parties. If Tone was the mainspring of the revolutionary agitation, Fitzgibbon was at least in equal the master mind which controlled the forces directed to its overthrow. Each recognised in the other a foeman worthy of his steel. Referring, in his journal for March 4th, 1798, to the speech delivered by Clare in answer to Lord Moira's arraignment of the Irish government, in which the Chancellor referred to Tone by name, the latter frankly expresses his admiration of the uncompromising vigour with which his enemy carried on the warfare between them. . . .

"The two men had long known each other, and had even opportunities for intimacy; for though Tone was by fifteen years the junior of Fitzgibbon, they had at one time been thrown together by a connection or kinship which existed between Fitzgibbon's family, and that Mrs. Tone". ("Studies in Irish History", pp. 130-131). The same writer suggests that it was through Clare's good offices, Wolfe Tone escaped from Ireland in 1795. Ed.]

set out for Belfast on May 20th, 1795, with his family, but not before engagements were entered into by him with Thomas Addis Emmet, Richard M'Cormick, and John Keogh, which afforded a prospect of his speedy return to Ireland, more largely accompanied than he was about to leave it. His last interview with Thomas Addis Emmet was soon after the conviction and death of the unfortunate Jackson. Russell and he walked out together to Rathfarnham to see Emmet, who had a charming villa there. "Emmet showed his two friends a little study of an elliptical form, which he was building at the bottom of the lawn, and which he said he would consecrate to their meetings, if ever they lived to see their country emancipated". Poor Tone, who felt not a little depressed on that occasion, could not, however, resist the opportunity of indulging in a joke at the expense of his staid-looking, solemn-faced, but by no means unsocial or abstemious friend P.P., "the parish clerk" of Tone's diaries, Tom Russell. He begged of Emmet, if he intended Russell should be of the party, in addition to the books and maps the study would naturally contain, to fit up a small cellaret, which should contain a few dozen of his best claret". Tone on this occasion states he said to his friends Emmet and Russell, as they walked together into town, that, "I considered my compromise with government to extend no further than the banks of the Delaware, and the moment I landed I was free to follow any plan which might suggest itself to me for the emancipation of my country. . . , They both agreed with me on those principles, and I then proceeded to tell them that my intention was, immediately on my arrival in Philadelphia, to wait on the French minister, to detail to him fully the situation of affairs in Ireland, to endeavour to obtain a recommendation to the French government, and if I succeeded so far, to leave my family in America and set off instantly for Paris, and apply, in the name of my country, for the assistance of France to enable us to assert our independence. It is unnecessary, I believe, to say that this plan met the warmest approbation and support from both Russell and Emmet. We shook hands, and having repeated our professions of unaltered regard and esteem for each other, we parted, and this was the last interview which I was so happy as to have with those two invaluable friends together. I remember it was in a little triangular field that this conversation took place, and Emmet remarked to us that it was exactly in one like it, in Switzerland, that William Tell and his associates planned the downfall of the tyranny of Austria. The next day, returned to Belfast".*

The garden scene and conference of Tone, Emmet, and

* "Life of T. W. Tone", by his son. Washington, 1826. Vol. i. p. 125.

Russell, have left vivid impressions on many minds of their countrymen. For the late Thomas Davis, the actors in this scene, and the incidents recorded of it, had an ideal life and energizing reality in them, which he had the power of picturing in words singularly graphic and impressive.

To the Catholic leaders, M'Cormick and John Keogh, who had particularly interested themselves for him, and been instrumental in obtaining the vote for granting him a sum of £300 in addition to the arrears due him by the Catholic Committee as their former secretary, Tone likewise opened his projects with respect to communicating with the French government; and he tells us: "It was hardly necessary to men of their foresight to mention my plans; however, for greater certainty, I consulted them both, and I received, as I expected, their most cordial approbation; and they both laid the most positive injunctions upon me to leave nothing unattempted on my part to force my way to France and lay our situation before the government, then observing at the same time, that if I succeeded there was nothing in the power of my country to bestow to which I might not fairly pretend".*

Tone set off from Dublin for Belfast on the 20th of May, 1795, with his wife, sister, and three children. His worldly goods and property consisted of a well-selected library of 600 volumes, and about £700 in money and bills on Philadelphia.

Tone's intimacy at this period with the late Dr. M'Donnell of Belfast, induced Dr. Madden to apply to that excellent man for any information he could afford respecting the former; and in reply he received the following particulars:

"I promised to furnish you with what I could recollect of Tone, but, indeed, I never saw him very often; and, although I regarded him and his wife, I never became quite familiar, and in what is considered as actual and warm friendship with him. I observed one trait of character which I did not approve of, and which, perhaps, I could not properly understand; although the accredited secretary or agent of the Roman Catholic Committee, and going to London in that capacity with the delegates Keogh and M'Cormick (I think), I found him quite averse and afraid of the Roman Catholic leaders having any intercourse with Pitt and his friends; and he was only so far set upon emancipation as it fell in with his ideas of reform upon the French principles; so that, had the government, as I wished, detached the Roman Catholics from the French system of general or democratic reform, by giving them the most practical toleration, I saw that Tone would have impeded that concession while he was paid as their clerk.

* "Tone's Life", ib., p. 127.

"I never would reconcile myself fully to this, and became hurt when I found that I had been so long acting in complete concert (as an emancipator) with people who wished for emancipation only as forming a part and parcel of a greater design, which design, although they always professed, they never avowed as the great and predominating object. Had the Catholics been then emancipated completely, Tone saw, as I did, that it would retard or frustrate the great reform he had in view, and that the surest method of bringing that about was to keep all causes of complaint in one cluster unsatisfied. On the other hand, had the pure and most rational and moderate reformers been accommodated by Pitt, he might have postponed the emancipation for a long time, and the French theorists, or high republican parties, would have been defeated, and the rebellion prevented by either of these concessions; but the government would do nothing to conciliate; so that the whole three parties were left to adhere together and to fraternize, although many of the Catholics and reformers were very much disposed to secede from the republican party, had they seen much prospect of attaining their own wishes.

"I was exceedingly (from first to last) averse to the French connection and to democracy, and this ultimately produced a reserve on their part with respect to me, and the flame was about to burst out, because I became sure of their having negotiated with France. At the last interview I ever had with Tone, at Samuel Neilson's in Belfast, Frank M'Cracken being present, said, that the Irish could free themselves without any assistance from France. 'If you act upon that principle', said Tone, 'you may pursue your ropewalks and your sail manufactures long and prosperously enough, for there never will be an effectual struggle in Ireland without invasion'. He then exemplified his system. He sailed next day from Island-Magee, promising to become a great farmer.

"I had a great intimacy and friendship with Archdeacon Sturrock, who was principal preceptor of Lord Castlereagh, but at that period had no acquaintance with his lordship, who resided then in Belfast.

"Sturrock told me that he asked, at the desire of his lordship, whether I thought any moderate reform would satisfy the people.

"I told him, most distinctly and conscientiously, that I was sure a very moderate and rational reform, with suitable regulation of the popery laws, would instantly detach the most useful and efficient part of the United Irishmen from the wild republicans, and would prove an infallible cure for all discontent, and that without something of this kind there would soon be rebellion. He left me, much struck with the strong manner I expressed this notion, and the firm hold the

opinion had of my mind. But on returning the same evening, he then asked me—'What of the Church?' 'Oh', said I, 'it is impossible to quiet the Dissenters, who are undoubtedly the main spring of the association, without some modification of the tithes. This must be a sine qua non'. After this he did not return, and never recurred again to that subject. This happened, I think, in 1796, perhaps about the end of the year".

So much for Dr. M'Donnell's reminiscences of Tone. But the diaries of Tone are not in accordance with the statement that the acquaintance between the doctor and Tone was not one of close intimacy.

Tone met with a reception from the principal people of Belfast that had more in it of an ovation than a simple manifestation of private affection and regard for an acquaintance or an associate about to depart—an exile compelled to leave home and friends for a distant land. On one occasion a party was made for him on the Cave Hill, near the town of Belfast, when, as he informs us in his diary, "Russell, Neilson (Robert), Simms, M'Cracken, and one or two more of us, on the summit of M'Art's Fort, took a solemn obligation, which I think I may say I have on my part endeavoured to fulfil, never to desist in our efforts until we had subverted the authority of England over our country, and asserted her independence".*

The reader need hardly be reminded of the interview with Emmet in his garden at Rathfarnham, at which it was determined that Tone, on his arrival in America, should obtain, if possible, a recommendation from the French minister to his government in France, and should immediately set off for Paris, leaving his family in America. Dr. Madden visited the spot on the Cave Hill where the same engagement was entered into, accompanied by the daughter of Henry Joy M'Cracken, who died in the unfortunate attempt to fulfil that obligation, as his friend Russell perished in it at a later period. The consequences of that compact brought the heavy hand of power on Neilson, led to the destruction of his property, and drove him into exile. Its results proved too much for the fortitude of Simms. They were connected with the perils and difficulties of the desperate mission on which Tone went to France in February, 1796—with the events of Hoche's expedition in the latter end of the same year; those of Hardy's unsuccessful one in the autumn of 1798, and the melancholy fate of Tone a little later; with the ruin, exile, or death of nearly all his associates; with terrible sufferings and calamities to his native land. In the consideration of these results of Tone's engagement with the leading men of the United Irish Society, there is

* "Tone's Life", vol. i., p. 128.

abundant food for reflection. The boldness of the bravest spirit may be abashed in the presence of the spectres brought before the eye. The fervour and enthusiasm of the most ardent patriotism may feel a chill shudder at the recall of those results, reflecting on which seems to the pained mind walking as it were over the graves and treading on the scattered bones and broken coffins of one's own dearest dead.

* * * *

CHAPTER II.

Tone's Mission to France.

On the 1st of August, 1795, Tone arrived at Wilmington, on the Delware, and seven or eight days later proceeded to Philadelphia, where he found his old friends and associates in Jackson's affair, Hamilton Rowan and Dr. Reynolds. His designs were then opened to them. He stated to them "his intention of waiting the next day on the French minister with such credentials as he had brought with him, which were the two votes of thanks of the Catholics, and his certificate of admission into the Belfast Volunteers, engrossed on vellum, and signed by the chairman and secretaries, and he added, that he would refer to them both for his credibility, in case the minister had any doubts".

With a letter of introduction from Rowan for Citizen Adet, the French minister resident at Philadelphia, Tone waited on his excellency in the high official character he had taken on him of representative of the Irish nation, and was received " very politely". The result of this first interview with the French minister was an intimation that a memorial embodying all that was to be communicated on the subject of Ireland should be prepared and sent in by Tone, which was accordingly done in a few days. Several weeks. however, passed over and nothing was heard of the memorial, except that it had been duly forwarded to the French government, and Tone at last began to think " there was an end of all his hopes".

His first intention was to purchase a farm, and with that view he proceeded to Westchester, about thirty miles from Philadelphia, and thence to Princeton in New Jersey, where he was in treaty for the purchase of a farm, hired a small house for the winter, and settled his family comfortably, " beginning to think his lot was cast to be an American farmer".

But he was soon recalled from his agricultural speculations by letters of unmistakable import from Ireland, calling on him to redeem the pledge he had given in Emmet's garden at Rathfarnham, and on the summit of the Cave Hill, near Belfast.

The mental powers, the originality of mind, the strong volition, self-reliance, and resources at command for all emergencies, of Theobald Wolfe Tone were very conspicuously manifested on all occasions of his standing forth as the representative of the interests of his society. To treat of him as an ordinary person of an imaginative turn, of levity and versatility of mind, possessing merely the superficial glitter of some showy talent, is an absurdity. He surely was no common man who counted for his friends, and found them in either fortune fast and faithful to him, Thomas Addis Emmet, William Conyngham Plunkett, Peter Burrowes, John Keogh, George Knox, and Whitley Stokes.

Tone did not remain long in the United States. After communicating with Hamilton Rowan, and obtaining letters from him, and others through his influence to persons of importance in Paris, some of them in high official situations, the object of which introduction was to accredit him as a recognized agent of the leaders of the United Irishmen, he took his departure from New York on January 1st, 1796, arrived at Havre the 1st of February, and proceeded immediately to Paris.

When Tone, on his arrival in Paris, waited on Madgett, an old Irish emigrant, employed in the department of the minister for Foreign Affairs, he was informed by Madgett that an Irishman of the name of Duckett had delivered in several memorials on the state of Ireland.*

Some inquiries were made of him by the secretary about one Fitzsimons, a priest, whom it was in contemplation to send to Ireland, but who had been in France for twenty or thirty years. Another inquiry made of Tone is deserving of notice. Hoche asked him "whether Defenders had ever sent any one to France to make representations?" He answered "he could not positively say, but he believed not, they being for the most part the peasantry of Ireland, and of course not having the means nor proper persons to send".†

Teeling denies that there was ever any communication between the Defenders and the French. In M'Neven's and Emmet's Essay towards the History of Ireland, we find it stated, "The Defenders likewise, in 1794, began to entertain an idea that possibly the French might visit Ireland, and that from thence benefits would result to them and their country; for in some places it was made a part of the oath,

* "Tone's Life", vol. ii., p. 33. † Ibid., p. 167.

and in others well understood, that they should join the French in case of an invasion. There is not, however, any reason to believe that this expectation arose from any communication with France, but only from the strength and ardency of their own wishes".*

One of the northern informers, and the earliest of them, Maguan, of Saintfield, in his depositions states, that an active communication was kept up between the United Irishmen in the north of Ireland and the French government. He frequently refers to the northern deputies in France, and to one of them drawing for large sums of money on the northern leaders. The latter we know to be Tone, from the letters published in his memoirs, informing one of the northern leaders of having drawn upon him. The persons called delegates, Maguan speaks of as persons specially sent to France in the character of agents or envoys, were mere fugitives from Ireland, members of the United Irish Society, but in no wise competent or authorized to enter into negotiations with the French government on the part of the Ulster leaders and independently of the Leinster directory. And it is well to bear in mind, that, where Maguan speaks of the executive and national committee, the Leinster directory of Dublin is referred to. That some of the northern fugitives, who were in Paris in 1797, had communications with members of the French government, there is reason to believe; but such persons acted in their individual capacity and on their own views. Amongst such persons we find Tone.

Maguan, in his informations, states, that it was announced at a provincial meeting at Randalstown, 14th August, 1797:—"A few spirited men in Belfast now seeing the business frustrated (by the dissensions of the executive and national committee), subscribed five hundred guineas to send a person to France; but not knowing what road to take to send him, or how to get him introduced to the Directory, they applied to a member of the old executive, and found the very person they had elected was sent ten days before by the executive".†

At another meeting on the 14th September, the return was announced from France of one of their delegates, and the news of the other delegates in France being appointed to accompany the expedition.

On the 14th October it was announced that one of their delegates in France had drawn a bill on the executive for £160. February 1st, 1798, Father Quigley, then in Belfast, formerly of the County of Louth, was announced as "one of the delegates who had lately returned from France".

* "Pieces if Irish History", p. 71.

† Vide "Report of the Lords' Secret Committee", Appendix xiv., p. 103.

February 27th, 1798, at a provincial meeting at Armagh, the return of a delegate from France announced, that they had then fourteen delegates in France, and that the executive had answered a draft of £500 of theirs to be raised off the four provinces equally.

With respect to Mr. Duckett, referred to by Madgett, and who figures so frequently in Tone's journals, dodging the agents of the United Irishmen from bureau to bureau, from Paris to Brest, and from Brest to Rennes, a few words remain to be said. February 26th, 1796, we find the Foreign Minister of France informing Tone that there was "an Irish patriot exiled on account of his political writings under the signature of 'Junius Redivivus', then residing in Paris, who had delivered in several memoirs on the state of Ireland".

September, 23rd, 1796, Colonel Shee, a relative of General Clarke's, spoke to Tone of Duckett, who represented himself as having been sent to France by "The Catholic Committee of Nine", to act as their plenipotentiary.

We find throughout Tone's communications with the French government, that this man was continually crossing his path; on one occasion, in the ante-room of the minister, presenting Tone, who was then passing for a Frenchman, with an English newspaper, and endeavouring to get into conversation with him; on several other occasions succeeding in getting information from the secretaries and other functionaries, which ought not to have been communicated to such a person. Tone evidently distrusted him, and knew that he had no connection with the Catholic Committee, or any other body in Ireland; and yet we find this man, in the fulfilment of some duties imposed on him, putting forward an application very similar to that which had been made by Tone, evidently with the view of ascertaining the reception such an application was likely to meet with. When Tone and Hoche arrived at Brest, at the time of the completion of the preparations for the departure of the expedition, Mr. Duckett was there before them. Tone insisted on his being sent back to Paris. Hoche thought it sufficient to determine on preventing him from taking part in the expedition.

A circumstance glanced at in Tone's diary deserves fuller notice than is given to it in the diary. Hoche had prudently deferred getting the proclamations intended for distribution in Ireland printed, till he arrived at Brest. Some days before the expedition sailed, he put the manuscript proclamation into the hands of a respectable printer. In the course of the day the printer called on Colonel Shee, and said that a gentleman with a foreign accent had called on him, and requested to see a copy of the proclamation which the French officer had left with him; that, on declining to produce it, the stranger had offered him a large sum of

money, increased his offer, and finally raised it to the sum of fifty louis; that it occurred to him, the best course he could pursue was to tell the stranger the manuscript had been cut up into slips, and given to the compositors, but that if he returned at a time appointed, he should have a printed copy.

In the mean time Shee, on the part of Hoche by Tone's advice, had another proclamation printed, from the original draft, but wherever the word "Ireland" occurred and the word "Irish", he had these words changed, and for them substituted those of "Portugal" and the "Portuguese". "The proclamation, thus amended, was given to the strange gentleman", and in a few days Sir John Colpoys' fleet, then stationed off Brest, watching the movements of the expedition, sailed up the Channel, and subsequently touching at Spithead, received intelligence which induced Colpoys to return to his former station. A movement that has hitherto appeared unaccountable—that of Colpoys in quitting his station at such a juncture, and thus allowing the Brest expedition to proceed to the coast of Ireland without molestation—is thus rendered intelligible. A British officer whose signature, "H. C.", is appended to the notes from which the following extracts from a remarkable statements of his are taken, who was closely connected with the Irish government, and had been officially cognizant of the proceedings at Bantry Bay, on the first intelligence of the arrival of the French, thus refers to the subject of Colpoys' departure from his cruising station, and, in ignorance of the real facts, attempts to account for it:—"Sir John Colpoys had been stationed for several weeks off Brest to watch the French fleet, which had been long ready to sail, full of troops, for either Lisbon or Ireland. A gale of wind blew our fleet off its station. On returning to it the French fleet had sailed. The great fault of our ministry was, that under this circumstance, which surely might have been expected, our admiral had no orders what to do, though common sense might have pointed out Ireland as the most important object, and ought to have been first attended to; Colpoys, therefore, continued watching the empty harbour, in strict obedience to his orders, till the gale of the 25th drove him to Portsmouth, and one of his fleet, the "Powerful", into Cove".

Thus we see Sir John Colpoys' quitting the Brest station ascribed to the elements, while, in point of fact, there is reason to believe his departure was occasioned by the proclamation of Hoche. "In the meantime", continues the officer just quoted, "circumstances equally unlucky attended the French fleet. The admiral and general, who were on board a swift-sailing frigate, with a proper attention to their own security in the event of falling in with the British squadron, bore away, on leaving Brest, in the direction of

Lisbon. At ten at night they called all the captains on board their own vessel, made them set their watches to the admiral's and ordered them at night to change their course without signal, and sail for Bantry Bay. They did so, and all seem to have met, except the frigate with the two commanders on board, who, for some reason never yet known, were certainly never in the Bay at all, and the troops having no orders how to act in this emergency, did, like Colpoys, nothing at all, and got back better than they deserved". It is needless to say, that if the writer had been aware of the ruse practised on the spy employed to get the proclamation of Hoche, he would have attached no blame to Colpoys' departure.

From the period of the departure from Brest, no more mention is made of Mr. Duckett. The United Irishmen in Paris knew nothing more of his movements. The committee of the Catholics had no knowledge of him at any time.

Tone asks, "Who the devil ever heard of Junius Redivivus?" The letters were thus signed on which Mr. Duckett relied as his credentials, when he applied to the French Directory. It was not without some trouble the author was able to discover the letters signed "Junius Redivivus".

They were published in the "Northern Star", in 1794. From one of these letters a few passages are quoted, to show the palpable imposition practised by the writer on the party whose principles he pretended to espouse.

It is a well ascertained fact, one that admits not of the silghtest doubt, that government employed writers to assume the advocacy of the views of the United Irishmen, to exaggerate opinions favourable to liberty, and by this means to bring the principles of their opponents into contempt.

With this view the atrocious assassination journal, the "Union Star", was suffered to proceed in its career with full impunity, and at a later period its editor was rewarded with a pension. With a similar view the letter from which the following extracts are taken, there is great reason to believe, was written. The writer begins by informing the people, "Their situation is new, and to new measures they must have recourse. Antiquity left them without line or rule whereby to guide or square their conduct. . .

"Now the question is, whether the nation is to be sacrificed to the minister, or the minister to the nation? . . . . .

"The charter of nations has wisely provided that examples should be made of delinquents in every rank and station, according to the nature of their crimes. Where this primary law is neglected, there liberty cannot exist. A nation is free when the minister is amenable to justice,

and enslaved when punishment cannot reach him. Let public delinquents, then, be brought to public justice ! . .

"Pointless are the slings of hirelings when aimed at him whose design is to heal the national wounds, to save the sinking wreck of a neglected, ill-managed state, and to drag to public justice the ignorant and wicked pilot. I defend no other cause; I shall claim no other merit. I court no man's favour; I fear no man's resentment". ["Methinks the gentleman doth protest too much".] "I shall conclude this letter with the imprecation pronounced in an ancient assembly: 'May the gods pursue that man to destruction, with all his race, who shall act, speak, or contrive anything against this state'.—Junius Redivivus".

It is only astonishing that a shrewd man like Neilson, the proprietor of the paper in which this communication was published, should not have seen through the shallow assumption of enthusiasm, and the overdoing of the violent character attempted by the writer of this wicked letter.

In 1798 we find the soi-disant agent of the United Irishmen in Paris, whom there is good reason to believe was not employed by the Irish Directory, but by the British minister, Mr. Pitt. He was denounced by another informer at the same period, to the English government, as an emissary of the Society of United Irishmen.*

This was about the same period that the Rev. William Jackson, an emissary of France, the secret of whose treasonable mission, on his arrival in London, was disclosed to Mr. Pitt by his companion, Cockayne, was permitted to go over to Ireland accompanied by the informer, for the express purpose of allowing him to proceed in his evil designs, and to involve the popular leaders in them.

The name of Duckett is to be found in the list of names specified in the Fugitive Bill, and mention is made of it very adroitly in the evidence given by Mr. Secretary Cooke before the Committee of the House of Lords on the Fugitive Bill, the 25th of August, 1798.

Mr. Cooke sworn: "Said he had information for many years respecting Duckett; that he was employed by the French ministry to give them information of the state of this country; that he is now attached to the French, and receives their pay; that he was recently employed to collect intelligence of the state of the country for the French government".

[Tone appears to have mistrusted Duckett, and Dr. Madden followed his line of suspicion. W. J. Fitzpatrick, in his painstaking book, "Secret Service under Pitt", says, he cannot indorse any imputation against Duckett. His name does not appear in any pension list or secret service memoranda. In the Castlereagh papers there is an extract from a letter

* See "Life and Correspondence of Lord Castlereagh", vol. i., pp. 233, 290, 308, 326.

The particulars of Tone's mission are given in his own journal with all the life and spirit for which even his most careless writings are remarkable. They are mixed up, however, with a mass of irrelevant matter, that renders it difficult to keep important subjects referred to therein, before the mind in a clear and connected manner. I therefore extract the particular passages in the diary bearing on the important subject of his mission, without any alteration whatsoever from those journals, from the date of his arrival in Paris—the beginning of February, 1796, to that of the failure of the expedition which he accompanied to Bantry Bay—the latter end of December, the same year.

"February 4.—A swindler in the hotel; wishes to take me in; wants to travel with me to Paris; says he is an American, and calls me Captain; is sure he has seen me somewhere. Tell him perhaps it was in Spain.*

written by Sir James Craufurd to Lord Grenville, dated, Hambrug, Oct. 23rd, 1798, in which there is the following reference to Duckett:—"I shall abstain from any measures against Duckett, at the same time, to have him narrowly watched, which I hitherto have so completely, that there is scarcely a single step which he has taken since he has been at Hamburg with which I am unacquainted. His views for the present seem to be turned principally towards His Majesty's dockyards, and not choosing to venture in England himself, he is very desirous of getting over hither some one of those evil-disposed persons whom he knows to be employed in the dockyards, for the purpose of concerting with him the means of setting them on fire. He pretends to be entrusted with a considerable sum of money for this purpose by the Directory; but I believe him in this respect to exaggerate greatly, though undoubtedly, if he could hold out any reasonable plan to the French government, pecuniary means would not be wanting. . . . He has of late been in correspondence with Holt, the rebel chief, who through him has been pressing the French for assistance".

Guillon, in "La France et l'Irlande pendant la revolution", says: that Truguet, the Minister of Marine, had thrown himself wholeheartedly into the projected invasion of Ireland, and proposed that Hoche should be given 30,000 soldiers for the invasion of Ireland, and that an additional force of 60,000 troops should be landed on the English coast. There is an important communication from Duckett to Truguet preserved in the French archives: "Is the government still resolved to prosecute the same plans and the same projects? Can my country rely upon its promises? Let me know, I ask you in the sacred name of Liberty, what is to be done? Shall I go to Ireland and acceterate the period for which we are all anxious?" Dr. Madden's suspicions of Duckett were no doubt founded on the intimate relations which existed between him (Duckett) and Reinhard, the French Ambassador at Hamburg.

Duckett was, according to Turner, employed by the French government to promote a meeting in the English fleet, and Fitzpatrick boldly states that the mutinies at Portsmouth and the Nore were largely the work of Duckett, who acted under the instructions of De la Croix, the French Minister of War]. Ed.

* It is very evident, from the time of Tone's arrival in France he was beset by spies.

"February 9.—My lover, the swindler, has been too cunning for us; he has engaged the fourth place in the coach, so we shall have the pleasure of his company on to Paris. He certainly has some designs on our pockets, but I hope he will find himself defeated. Wrote to my family and Dr. Reynolds of Philadelphia, and gave the letters to Capt. Baron. Tired of Havre, which is dreadfully monotonous, and D'Aucourt's peevishness, proceeding partly from ill-health, makes him not the pleasantest company in the world. Got our passports; engaged post horses, &c. I do not bear the separation from my family well, yet I certainly do not wish them at present in France. If I can make out my brother Matthew, I shall be better off. Poor P. P.,* I shall never meet with such another agreeable companion in a post-chaise.

"February 15.—Went to Monroe's, the ambassador, and delivered in my passport and letters. Received very politely by Monroe, who inquired a great deal into the state of the public mind in America, which I answered as well as I could, and in a manner to satisfy him pretty well as to my own sentiments. I inquired of him where I was to deliver my despatches. He informed me, at the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and gave me his address. I then rose and told him that when he had read B——'s letter (which was in cypher), he would, I hoped, find me excused in taking the liberty to call again. He answered, he would be happy at all times to see me, and, after he had inquired about Hamilton Rowan, how he liked America, &c., I took my leave, and returned to his office for my passport. The secretary smoked me for an Irishman directly. A la bonne heure. Went at three o'clock to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Rue du Bacq, 471. Delivered my passport, and inquired for some one who spoke English. Introduced immediately to the Chef de Bureau, Lamare, a man of an exceedingly plain appearance. I showed my letter, and told him I wished for an opportunity to deliver it into the minister's hands. He asked me, 'would it not do if he took charge of it?' I answered, he undoubtedly knew the official form best, but if it was not irregular, I should consider myself much obliged by being allowed to deliver it in person. He then brought me into a magnificent ante-chamber, where a general officer and another person were writing, and, after a few minutes' delay, I was introduced to the minister, Charles de la Croix, and delivered my letter, which he opened, and seeing it in cypher, he told me, in French, he was much obliged to me for the trouble I had taken, and that the secretary would give me a receipt, acknowledging the delivery. I then made my bow and retired with the secretary, the minister seeing us to the door.

* Thomas Russell.—R. R. M.

"February 16, 1796.—There are about six persons in the world who will read these detached memorandums with pleasure; to every one else they would appear sad stuff. But they are only for the women of my family, or the boys, if ever we meet again, and for my friend P. P. Would to God he were here just now! Set off for Madgett's and delivered my letter. Madgett delighted to see me, tells me he has the greatest expectation our business will be taken up in the most serious manner; that the attention of the French government is now turned to Ireland, and that the stability and form it had assumed, gave him the strongest hopes of success; that he had written to Hamilton Rowan about a month since, to request I might come over instantly, in order to confer with the French government and determine on the necessary arrangements, and that he had done this by order of the French executive. He then asked me had I brought any papers or credentials; I answered that I only brought the letter of Adet to the executive, and one to the American ambassador; that I had destroyed a few others on the passage, including one from Mr. Rowan to himself, as we were chased by a Bermudian; that, as to credentials, the only ones I had, or that the nature of the case would permit, I had shown to Adet on my first arrival in Philadelphia in August last. . . . Madgett then said, that was enough, especially as he had the newspapers, containing the resolutions I mentioned, and that the French executive were already fully apprised who I was. He then added, that we should have ten sail of the line, any quantity of arms that were wanted, and such money as was indispensable, but that this last was to be used discreetly, as the demands for it on all quarters were so numerous and urgent; and that he thought a beginning might be made through America, so as to serve both Ireland and France. That is to say, that military stores might be sent through this channel from France to Ireland, purchased there by proper persons, and provisions, leather, &c., returned in neutral bottoms. I answered, this last measure was impracticable, on account of the vigilance of the Irish government, and the operation of the gunpowder act, which I explained to him. I then gave him a very short sketch of what I considered the state of Ireland, laying it down as a positum that nothing effectual could be done there unless by a landing; that a French army was indispensably necessary as a point de ralliement; and I explained to him the grounds of my opinion.

"February 22.—Finished my memorial, and delivered a fair copy, signed, to Madgett for the Minister of Foreign Relations. Madgett in the horrors. He tells me he has had a discourse yesterday for two hours with the minister, and that the succours he expected will fall very short of what

he thought. That the marine of France is in such a state that government will not hazard a large fleet; and, consequently, that we must be content to steal a march. That they will give 2,000 of their best troops, and arms for 20,000; that they cannot spare Pichegru* nor Jourdan;† that they will give any quantity of artillery, and, I think he added, what money might be necessary. He also said they would first send proper persons among the Irish prisoners of war, to sound them, and exchange them on the first opportunity. To all this, at which I am not disappointed, I answered, that as to 2,000 men, they might as well send 20. That with regard to myself, I would go if they would send but a corporal's guard; but that my opinion was, that 5,000 was as little as could be landed with any prospect of success, and that, that number would leave the matter doubtful; that if there could be an imposing force sent in the first instance, it would overbear all opposition, the nation would be unanimous, and an immense effusion of blood and treasure would be spared. . . . .

"Suppose we get 5,000 men, and 30,000 or even 20,000 stand of arms and a train of artillery, I conceive, in the first place, the embarkation must be from Holland, but in all events the landing must be in the north, as near Belfast as possible. Had we 20,000, or even 15,000 men, in the first instance, we should begin by the capital, the seizing of which would secure everything; but, as it is, if we cannot go large we must go close-hauled, as the saying is. With 5,000 we must proceed entirely on a revolutionary plan, I fear (that is to say, reckon only on the sans-culottes), and, if necessary, put every man, horse, guinea, and potato in Ireland in requisition. I should also conceive that it would be our policy at first to avoid an action, supposing the Irish army stuck to the government. Every day would strengthen and discipline us, and give us opportunities to work upon them. I doubt whether we could, until we had obtained some advantage in the field, frame any body that would venture to call itself the Irish Government, but if we could, it would be of the last importance. Hang those who talk of fear! With 5,000 men, and very strong measures, we should ultimately succeed. The only difference between that number and 20,000 is, that, with the latter, there would be no fighting, and with this, we may have some hard knocks.

* Charles Pichegru, general of division. President of the Council of Five Hundred, 1797. Intrigued against Napoleon on behalf of the Burbons. Deported from France in 1798. In 1804 he returned to Paris, was arrested and confined in the Temple Prison, where he was found strangled on April 6th, 1804.

† Jean Baptiste Jourdan, French Marshal. Born in 1762, died, 1833. He became governor of Naples under Napoleon, and in 1814 he joined the Burbons. In 1830 he supported the Revolution.

"February 23.—Quit Madgett, whom I believe honest, and whom I feel weak; go to Monroe; received very favourably. He has had my letter decyphered, and dropped all reserve. I told him I felt his situation was one of considerably delicacy, and therefore I did not wish to press upon him any information, relative either to myself or to my business, farther than he might desire. He answered, that the letters had satisfied him, particularly that from H. R.,* of whom he spoke in terms of great respect, and that, as not responsible for what he might hear, but for what he might do, I might speak freely. I then opened myself to him without the least reserve, and gave him such details as I was able of the actual state of things, and of the grounds of my knowledge from my situation. I also informed of what I had done thus far. He then addressed me in substance thus: 'You must change your plan; I have no doubt whatever of the integrity and sincerity of the minister De la Croix,† nor even of Madgett, whom I believe to be honest. But, in the first place, it is a subaltern way of doing business, and, in the next, the vanity of Madgett will be very likely to lead him, in order to raise his importance in the eyes of some of his countrymen, who are here as patriots, and of whom I have by no means the same good opinion as to integrity that I have of him, to drop some hint of what is going forward. Go at once to the Directoire Executif, and demand an audience; explain yourself to them; and, as to me, you may go so far as to refer to me for the authenticity of what you may advance, and you may add that you have reason to think that I am in a degree apprised of the outline of your business'. I mentioned Carnot, of whose reputation we had been long apprised, and who, I understood, spoke English. He said, 'Nobody fitter, and that La Reveilliere Lepaux also spoke English; that either would do'. I then expressed a doubt whether, as I was already in the hands of Charles de la Croix, there might not be some indelicacy in my going directly to the Directoire Executif, and, if so, whether it might not be of disservice. He answered, 'By no means; that in his own functions the proper person for him to communicate with was De la Croix; but that, nevertheless, when he had any business of consequence, he went at once to the fountain head'.

"February 24.—Went at 12 o'clock in a fright to the Luxembourg, conning speeches in execrable French all the way. What shall I say to Carnot? Well, 'whatever the Lord putteth in my mouth, that surely will I utter'. . . . Arriving at the palace, mounted the stairs like a lion, went

* H. R. Hamilton Rowan. Ed.

† All the communications to La Croix from Reinhard, the French minister at Hamburgh, relating to Ireland, found their way into the hands of Mr. Pitt. See the Castlereagh Correspondence, vol. i., p. 270, &c.

into the first bureau I found open, and demanded at once to see Carnot. The clerks stared a little, but I repeated my demand with a courage truly heroic; on which they instantly submitted, and sent a person to conduct me. This happened to be his day for giving audience, which each member of the Executive Directory gave in his turn. Introduced by my guide into the ante-chamber, which was filled with people—the officers of state all in their new costume. Wrote a line in English, and delivered it to one of the huissiers, stating that a stranger, just arrived from America, wished to speak to Citizen Carnot on an affair of consequence. He brought me an answer in two minutes, that I should have an audience. The folding doors were now thrown open, a bell being previously rung to give notice to the people, that all who had business might present themselves, and Citizen Carnot appeared in the petit costume of white satin with crimson robe richly embroidered. It is very elegant, and resembles almost exactly the draperies of Van Dyke. He went round the room, receiving papers and answering those who addressed him. I told my friend the huissier, in marvellous French, that my business was too important to be transacted there, and that I would return on another day, when it would not be Carnot's turn to give audience, and when I should hope to find him at leisure. He mentioned this to Carnot, who ordered me instantly to be shown into an inner apartment, and that he would see me as soon as the audience was over. That, I thought, looked well, and began accordingly to con my speech again. In the apartment were five or six persons, who being, like myself, of great distinction, were admitted to a private audience. I allowed them all precedence, as I wished to have my will of Carnot, and while they were in their turns speaking with him, I could not help reflecting how often I had wished for the opportunity I then enjoyed; what schemes I had laid, what hazards I had run; when I looked round, and saw myself actually in the cabinet of the Executive Directory, vis-a-vis with Citizen Carnot, the organizer of victory, I could hardly believe my own senses, and felt as if it were all a dream. However, I was not in the least degree disconcerted, and when I presented myself, after the rest were dismissed, I had all my faculties, such as they were, as well at my command as on any occasion in my life. . . .

"I began my discourse by saying in horrible French, that I had been informed he spoke English. 'A little, sir; but I perceive you speak French, and, if you please, we will converse in that language.' I answered, still in my jargon, that if he could have the patience to endure me, I would endeavour, and only prayed him to stop me, whenever I did not make myself understood. I then told him I was an Irishman; that I had been secretary and agent to the

Catholics of that country, who were about 3,000,000 of people; that I was also in perfect possession of the sentiments of the Dissenters, who were at least 900,000; and that I wished to communicate with him on the actual state of Ireland. He stopped me here to express a doubt as to the numbers being so great as I represented. I answered, a calculation had been made within these few years, grounded on the number of houses, which was ascertained for purposes of revenue; that, by that calculation, the people of Ireland amounted to 4,100,000, and it was acknowledged to be considerably under the truth. He seemed a little surprised at this, and I proceeded to state that the sentiments of all those people were unanimous in favour of France, and eager to throw off the yoke of England. He asked me then what they wanted. I said: 'An armed force in the commencement, for a point d'appui, until they could organize themselves and undoubtedly a supply of arms and some money'. I added that I had already delivered in a memorial on the subject to the Minister of Foreign Relations, and that I was preparing another, which would explain to him in detail all that I knew on the subject, better than I could in conversation. He then said: 'We shall see those memorials'. The organizer of victory proceeded to ask me were there not some strong places in Ireland. I answered, I knew of none but some works to defend the harbour of Cork. He stopped me here, saying: 'Ay, Cork; but may it not be necessary to land there?' By which I perceived he had been organizing a little already in his own mind. I answered, I thought not; that if a landing in force were attempted, it would be better near the capital, for obvious reasons: if with a small army, it should be in the north, rather than the south of Ireland, for reasons which he would find in my memorials He then asked me: 'Might there not be some danger or delay in a longer navigation?' I answered, it would make a difference of two days, which was nothing in comparison of the advantages. I then told him that I came to France by the direction and concurrence of the men who (and here I was at a loss for a French word, with which, seeing my embarrassment, he supplied me) guided the two great parties I had mentioned; that I could not think I had discharged my duty either to France or Ireland, if I left any measure unattempted which might draw the attention of the Directory to the situation of the latter country; and that, in consequence, I had presumed to present myself to him, and to implore his attention to the facts contained in the two memorials. I then rose, and after the usual apologies, took my leave, but I had not cleared the ante-chamber, when I recollected a very material circumstance, which was, that I had not told him, in fact, who, but merely what I was; I was, therefore, returning on

my steps, when I was stopped by the sentry, demanding my card; but from this dilemma I was extricated by my lover, the huissier, and again admitted. I then told Carnot that, as to my situation, credit, and the station I had filled in Ireland, I begged leave to refer him to James Monroe,* the American Ambassador. He seemed struck with this, and then, for the first time, asked my name. I told him, in fact, I had two names, my real one, and that under which I travelled and was described in my passport. I then took a slip of paper, and wrote the name 'James Smith, citoyen Americain', and under it, 'Theobald Wolfe Tone', which I handed him, adding that my real name was the undermost. He took the paper, and, looking over it, said 'Ha! Theobald Wolfe Tone', with the expression of one who has just recollected a circumstance, from which little movement I augur good things. I then told him I would finish my memorial as soon as possible, and hoped he would permit me in the course of a few days after, to present myself again to him; to which he answered, 'By all means'; and so I again took my leave. Here is a full and true account of my first audience of the Executive Directory of France, in the person of Citizen Carnot, the organizer of victory. I think I came off very clear. What am I to think of all this? As yet I have met no difficulty nor check, nothing to discourage me; but I wish with such extravagant passion for the emancipation of my country, and I do so abhor and detest the very name of England, that I doubt my own judgment, lest I see things in too favourable a light. I hope I am doing my duty. It is a bold measure; after all if it should succeed, and my visions be realized—Huzza! Vive la Republique! I am a pretty fellow, to negotiate with the Directory of France, pull down a monarchy, and establish a republic—to break a connection of six hundred years standing, and contract a fresh alliance with another country.

"March 7, 1770.—If we have a republic in Ireland, we must build a pantheon, but we must not, like the French, be in too great a hurry to people it. We have already a few to begin with: Roger O'Moore, Molyneux, Swift, and Dr. Lucas, all good Irishmen.

"March 14.—Went this day to the Luxembourg. I have the luck of going on the days that Carnot gives audience, and of course is most occupied; waited, however, to the last, when only one person remained besides myself. Carnot then called me over, and said: 'You are an Irishman'. I answered I was. 'Then', said he, 'here is almost a countryman of yours, who speaks English perfectly. He has the confidence of government: go with him, and explain yourself

* Monroe was afterwards the fifth President of the United States of America. He promulgated the "Monroe Doctrine" in 1823.

without reserve'. I did not much like this referring me over: however, there was no remedy; so I made my bow, and followed my new lover to his hotel. He told me on the way that he was General Clarke; that his father was an Irishman; that he had himself been in Ireland, and had many relations in that country; he added (God forgive him if he exaggerated) that all the military arrangements of the republic passed through his hands, and, in short, gave me to understand that he was at the head of the war department. By this time we arrived at the hotel where he kept his bureau, and I observed in passing through the office to his cabinet an immense number of boxes labelled, 'Armee du Nord, Armee des Pyrenees, Armee du Rhin', &c., &c., so that I was pretty well satisfied that I was in the right track. When we entered the cabinet, I told him in three words who and what I was, and then proceeded to detail at considerable length all I knew on the state of Ireland, which, as it is substantially contained in my two memorials, to which I referred him, I need not here recapitulate. This took up a considerable time: I suppose an hour and a half. He then began to interrogate me on some of the heads, in a manner which showed me that he was utterly unacquainted with the present state of affairs in Ireland, and particularly with the great internal changes which have taken place there within the last three or four years, which, however, is no impeachment of his judgment or talents. There were, however, other points on which he was radically wrong. For example, he asked me would not the aristocracy of Ireland, some of whom he mentioned, as the Earl of Ormond, concur in the attempt to establish the independence of their country ? I answered, most certainly not; and begged him to remember that if the attempt were made, it would be by the people, and the people only; that he should calculate on all the opposition that the Irish aristocracy could give; that the French Revolution, which had given courage to the people, had, in the same proportion, alarmed the aristocracy, who trembled for their titles and estates; that this alarm was diligently fomented by the British minister, who had been able to persuade every man of property that their only security was in supporting him implicitly in every measure calculated to oppose the progress of what were called French principles; that, consequently, in any system he might frame in his mind, he should lay down the utmost opposition of the aristocracy as an essential point. At the same time, I added, that, in case of a landing being effected in Ireland, their opposition would be of very little significance, as their conduct had been such as to give them no claim on the affections of the people; that their own tenants and dependents would, I was satisfied, desert them, and they would become just so many

helpless individuals, devoid of power and influence. He then mentioned that the Volunteer Convention in 1783 seemed to be an example against what I now advanced; the people then had acted through their leaders. I answered, they certainly had, and as their leaders had betrayed them, that very convention was one reason why the people had for ever lost all confidence in what were called leaders. He then mentioned the confusion and bloodshed likely to result from a people such as I described, and he knew, the Irish to be, breaking loose without proper heads to control and moderate their fury. I answered, it was but too true; that I saw as well as he that, in the first explosion, it was likely that many events would take place in their nature very shocking; that revolutions were not made without much individual suffering; that, however, in the present instance, supposing the worst, there would be a kind of retributive justice, as no body of men on earth were more tyrannical and oppressive in their nature than those who would be most likely to suffer in the event alluded to; that I had often in my own mind (and God knows the fact to be so) lamented the necessity of our situation; but that Ireland was so circumstanced that she had no alternative but unconditional submission to England, or a revolution, with a chance of all the concomitant sufferings; and that I was one of those who preferred difficulty and danger and distress to slavery, especially where I saw clearly there was no other means. 'It is very true', replied he, 'there is no making an omelette without breaking of eggs'. He still seemed, however, to have a leaning towards the co-operation of our aristocracy, which is flat nonsense. He asked me was there no one man of that body that we could make use of, and again mentioned, 'for example, the Earl of Ormond'. I answered 'not'; that as to Lord Ormond, he was a ——— ——, without a character of any kind but that of a blockhead; that I did believe, speaking my own private opinion as an individual, that perhaps the Duke of Leinster might join the people, if the revolution was once begun, because I thought him a good Irishman; but that for this opinion I had merely my own conjectures; and that, at any rate, if the beginning was once made, it would be of very little consequence what part any individual might take. I do not know how Fitzgibbon's name happened to come in here, but he asked me would it not be possible to make something of him. Anyone who knows Ireland will readily believe that I did not find it easy to make a serious answer to this question. Yes; Fitzgibbon would be very likely, from his situation, his principles, his hopes and his fears, his property, and the general tenour of his conduct, to begin a revolution in Ireland! At last, I believe I satisfied Clarke on the subject of the support to be expected from our aristocracy. He then asked me what

I thought the revolution, if begun, would terminate in. I answered, undoubtedly, as I thought, in a republic allied to France. He then asked what security could I give, that in twenty years after our independence, we might not be found engaged as an ally of England against France ? I thought the observation a very foolish one, and only answered that I could not venture to foretell what the combination of events for twenty years might produce; but that, in the present posture of affairs, there were few things which presented themselves to my view under a more improbable shape. He then came to the influence of the Catholic clergy over the minds of the people, and the apprehension that they might warp them against France. I assured him, as the fact is, that it was much more likely that France would turn the people against the clergy; that within these last few years, that is to say, since the French Revolution, an astonishing change, with regard to the influence of the priests, had taken place in Ireland. I mentioned to him the conduct of that body, pending the Catholic business, and how much and how justly they had lost character on that account. I told him the anecdote of the Pope's legate, who is also Archbishop of Dublin, being superseded in the actual management of his own chapel, of his endeavouring to prevent a political meeting therein, and of his being forced to submit and attend the meeting himself; but, particularly, I mentioned the circumstance of the clergy excommunicating all Defenders, and even refusing the sacraments to some of the poor fellows in articulo mortis, which to a Catholic is a very serious affair, and all to no purpose. This last circumstance seemed to strike him a good deal. He then said that I was not to augur anything either way from anything that had passed on that day; that he would consider my memorials very attentively; but that I must see that a business of such magnitude could not be discussed in one conversation at the first; that I was not, however, to be discouraged because he did not at present communicate with me more openly.

"March 21, 1796.—In the course of conversation, when I desired Clarke to count upon all the opposition which the Irish aristocracy, whether Protestant or Catholic, could give, he said he believed I was in the right; for that, since he saw me last, he had read over a variety of memorials on the subject of Irish affairs, which had been given into the French Government for forty years back, and they all supported my opinion as to that point. I answered, I was glad of it, but begged him not to build much on any papers above a very recent date; that the changes, even in France, were not much greater than in Ireland since 1789; that what was true of her ten or seven years ago, was not true now; of which there could not be a stronger instance than this,

that if the French had landed during the last war, the Dissenters, to a man, and even the Catholics, would have opposed them; but then France was under the yoke, which she had since broken; that all the changes in the sentiments of the Irish people flowed from the Revolution in France, which they had watched very diligently; and that being the case, he would, I hope, find reason soon to believe that my opinion on the influence of the nobles and clergy was founded in fact. I then went on to observe, that, about one hundred years ago, Louis XIV. had an opportunity of separating Ireland from England, during the war between James II. and William III.; that, partly by his own miserable policy, and partly by the interested views of his minister, Louvois,* he contented himself with feeding the war by little and little, until the opportunity was lost, and that France had reason to regret it ever since; for, if Ireland had been made independent then, the navy of England would never have grown to what it is at this day. He said that was very true; and added, 'that even in the last war, when the Volunteers were in force, and a rupture between England and Ireland seemed likely, it was proposed in the French Council to offer assistance to Ireland, and overruled by the interest of Count de Vergennes,† then prime minister, who received for that service a considerable bribe from England, and that he was informed of this by a principal agent in paying the money'. So, it seems, we had a narrow escape of obtaining our independence fifteen years ago. It is better as it is, for then we were not united amongst ourselves, and I am not clear that the first use we should have made of our liberty, would not have been to have begun cutting each other's throats: so out of evil comes good. I do not like this story of Vergennes, of the truth of which I do not doubt. How, if the Devil should put into any one's head here to serve us so this time! Pitt is as cunning as hell, and he has money enough, and we have nothing here but assignats: I do not like it at all. However, it is idle speculating on what I cannot prevent. I can answer for myself, I will do my duty. But, to return: Clarke asked me had I thought of subsisting the French troops after the landing, in case the executive decided in favour of the measure. I answered, I had not thought in detail on the subject, but there was one infallible mode which presented itself, which was, requisition in kind of all things necessary, adding, that he might be sure, whoever wanted, the army should not want, and especially our allies, if we were so fortunate as to obtain their assistance. He asked me,

* Louvois (Francois Michel le Tillier, Marquis de) Minister for war, under Louis XIV. Ed.

† Vergennes (Charles Gravier) Foreign Minister, under Louis XVI. He promoted the Independence of the United States. Ed.

'Might not that disgust the people of property in Ireland ?' I answered, the revolution was not to be made for the people of property, &c. . . .

"March 26.—I have protested again and again, in these memorandums, that I am acting to the best of my judgment, seeing that I have no advisers, which is a great loss, and on the very fairest principles. Have I no selfish motives ? Yes, I have. If I succeed here, I feel I shall have strong claims on the gratitude of my country; and as I love her, and as I think I shall be able to serve her, I shall certainly hope for some honourable station, as a reward for the sacrifices I have already made, and the dangers I have incurred, and those which I am ready, and shall have, to make and incur in the course of the business.* I hope (but I am not sure) my country is my first object, at least she is my second. If there be one before her, as I rather believe there is, it is my dearest life and love, the light of my eyes and spirit of my existence. I wish more than for anything on earth to place her in a splendid situation. There is none so elevated that she would not adorn and that she does not deserve, and I believe that not I only, but every one who knows her, will agree as to that. Truth is truth ! she is my first object. But would I sacrifice the interests of Ireland to her elevation ? No ! that I would not, and if I would, she would despise me, and if she were to despise me, I would go hang myself like Judas." . . .

"April 9.—Sullivan† called on me this morning with an English paper of the 31st March (ten days ago), in which is an article on Ireland, wherein mention is made of Sir Edward Bellew, of Bellewstown, being arrested, as connected with the Defenders. This surprises me, for he is a confirmed aristocrat, and he and all his family have been so devoted to the government as even to have the meanness of opposing the Catholics. Such is the gratitude of the Irish government ! But this piece of news is accompanied by another, which gives me the most sincere anxiety on every possible account, public or private: it is the arrest of John Keogh. Poor fellow ! this is no place to write his panegyric. I have not got such a shock this long time. If we lose him, I know not where to look for a man to supply his place. I have differed from him at one time, but his services to Ireland have been eminent indeed, more especially to the Catholics; and, in all probability, they will prove his ruin; for, from the state of his health, confinement in the unwholesome air of a prison will be to him death as

* It was with difficulty, two years and a half later, means could be procured, and persons could be found, to bury his remains at Bodenstown. R. R. M.

† Sullivan was Madgett's nephew, he accompanied Humbert's expedition to Kilalla. Ed.

certain as the guillotine. I am expressly concerned on his account. That infernal government of Ireland ! It is of a long time they have been on the watch for his destruction, and I am sure they will stick at no means, however atrocious, to accomplish their ends. I can scarcely promise myself ever to see him again, and I can sincerely say that one of the greatest pleasures which I anticipated in case of our success, was the society of Mount Jerome, where I have spent many happy days, and some of them serviceable to the country. It was there that he and I used to frame our papers and manifestoes. It was there we drew up the petition and vindication of the Catholics, which produced such powerful effects both in England and Ireland. I very much fear we shall never labour together again for the good of our native country. I am sure he has been too wise and too cautious to put himself in their power; but what wisdom or caution is proof against forged and suborned testimony, which I know they will never stick at procuring; and in the state affairs are now in Ireland, any evidence will be received. Well, a day will come for all this.

" April 10.—Aherne called on me this morning, and I gave him a list of the persons he is to see (in Ireland), viz., Gog, Magog, P.P., C. Teeling, R.S.—, and S. Neilson, Oliver Bond, J. J. M'Nevin, with a quere as to J. P. and T. A. Emmet.* I also gave him some trifling anecdotes, known only to ourselves, which will satisfy them that he has seen and conversed with me. When we had done I went to Clarke, who was for the first time denied to me; however, I caught him coming out of his bureau. He said he had shown the newspapers to Carnot, who was very sorry the gentleman was arrested; but what could he do ? I looked at him very earnestly, and repeated, 'What could he do ?' I then shrugged up my shoulders, and repeated twice in French, 'Mauvaise augure'. 'No', replied Clarke, 'you must not look on it in that light—you must not infer anything from thence'. We then walked on towards the Directory, where he was going; and I pressed him, if the business were at all attempted, on the necessity of not losing a moment. He interrupted me, by asking me, 'How do you know that we are losing a moment ?' I replied, that was enough; and so we parted. I am to see him again in a few days.

" June 26.—The Whig Club, I see, are taking up the condition of the labouring poor. They are getting

* Aherne was a native of Cork, a physician. He had been employed in Scotland by the French government on some secret mission. The persons he was to see in Ireland, on his similar mission, who are indicated by nicknames and initials, were John Keogh, who figures in the diaries as Gog; Richard M'Cormick, as Magog; Thomas Russell, as P.P.; R. T., Robert Simms; and the gentleman with a query as to J.P., in all probability, John Philpot Curran. R.R.M.

frightened, and their guilty consciences will not let them sleep. I suppose they will act like the gentry of Meath, who, for fear of the Defenders, raised their workmen's wages from eight pence to a shilling per day, but took care at the same time to raise the rent of their hovels, and the grass for their cows, in the same proportion, so that at the end of the year the wretched peasant was not a penny the richer. Such is the honesty of the squirearchy of Ireland. No ! no ! it is we who will better the condition of the labouring poor, if ever we get into that country; it is we that will humble the pride of that execrable and contemptible corps, the country gentlemen of Ireland. . . .

" June 28.—Called on Clarke by appointment. I told him I had two things to mention: first, that as we had the Pope now in our grasp, I wished him to consider whether we might not artfully seduce him into writing to his legate, Dr. Troy, in order to secure, at least the neutrality, if not the support, of the Irish Catholic clergy. He objected, that this would be recognizing the authority of the Pope, and said he was sure the Directory would make no public application of this sort, besides, that it would be making the matter known in Italy. I replied, that undoubtedly it was not a matter for an official application, but for private address; and, as to making it known, it need not be applied for until the last stage of the business; nevertheless, I merely threw it out as a hint for his consideration, without pressing it, as I expected no formidable opposition from the priests in Ireland. . . .

" July 9.—If I have not passed almost six tedious months in France, I wonder at it. I am sure my country is much my debtor, if not for what I have done, at least for what I have suffered on account of her liberty. Well, I do not grudge it to her, and if ever she is able she will reward me, and I think by that time I will have deserved it at her hands. To-morrow I will go see Clarke, and hear what he has to say for himself. He assures me, for I asked him a second time for greater certainty, that my friends in Ireland know I am here. I am heartily glad of it. I was dreaming all last night of Plunkett and Peter Burrowes and George Knox, and I believe it is that which has thrown me into the blue devils all this day. . . .

" July 12.—Battle of Aughrim. As I was sitting in my cabinet, studying my tactics, a person knocked at the door, who, on opening it, proved to be a dragoon of the third regiment. He brought me a note from Clarke, informing me that the person he mentioned was arrived, and desired to see me at one o'clock. I ran off directly to the Luxembourg, and was showed into Fleury's cabinet, where I remained till three, when the door opened, and a very handsome, well made young fellow, in a brown coat and

nankeen plantoons, entered, and said, 'Vous vous etes le Citoyen Smith ?' I thought he was a chef de bureau, and replied, 'Oui, citoyen, je m'appelle Smith'. He said, 'Vous appelez, aussi, je crois Wolfe Tone'; I replied, 'Oui, citoyen, c'est mon veritable nom'. 'Eh bien', replied he, 'je suis le General Hoche'.* At these words I mentioned that I had for a long time been desirous of the honour I then enjoyed, to find myself in his company; 'Into his arms I soon did fly, and there embraced him tenderly'. He then said he presumed I was the author of the memorandums which had been transmitted to him. I said I was. Well, said he, there are one or two points I want to consult you on. He then proceeded to ask me, in case of the landing being effectuated, might he rely on finding provisions, and particularly bread. I said it would be impossible to make any arrangements in Ireland previous to the landing, because of the surveillance of the government, but if that were once accomplished, there would be no want of provisions; that Ireland abounded in cattle, and, as for bread, I saw by the "Gazette" that there was not only no deficiency of corn, but that she was able to supply England, in a great degree, during the late alarming scarcity in that country; and I assured him, that if the French were once in Ireland, he might rely that, whoever wanted bread, they should not want it. He seemed satisfied with this, and proceeded to ask me, might we count upon being able to form a provisional government, either of the Catholic Committee, mentioned in my memorials, or of the chiefs of the Defenders. I thought I saw an open here to come at the number of troops intended for us, and replied, that, that would depend on the force which might be landed; if that force were but trifling, I could not pretend to say how they might act, but if it was considerable, I had no doubt of their co-operation. 'Undoubtedly', replied he, 'men will not sacrifice themselves when they do not see a reasonable prospect of support; but, if I go, you may be sure I will go with sufficient force'. He then asked, did I think 10,000 men would decide them ? I answered, undoubtedly, but early in the business the minister had spoken to me of 2,000, and that I had replied that such a number could effect nothing. No, replied he, they would be overwhelmed before any could join them. I replied I was glad to hear him give that opinion, as it was precisely what I had stated to the

* Lazare Hoche enlisted in the French army at the age of sixteen. In 1793 he defended Dunkirk against the Duke of York, and drove the Austrains from Alsace. Two years later he quelled the insurrection in La Vendee. After the failure at Bantry Bay he was made commander of the army of the Rhine. He died at Wetzlar in September 1797. It was reported that Hoche was poisoned by his enemies, and that Napoleon feared him as a rival. Ed.

minister, and I repeated that, with the force he mentioned, I could have no doubt of support and co-operation sufficient to form a provisional government. He then asked me what I thought of the priests, or was it likely they would give us any trouble. I replied, I certainly did not calculate on their assistance, but neither did I think they would be able to give us any effectual opposition; that their influence over the minds of the common people was exceedingly diminished of late, and I instanced the case of the Defenders, so often mentioned in my memorials and in these memorandums. I explained all this at some length to him, and concluded by saying, that, in prudence, we should avoid as much as possible shocking their prejudices unnecessarily, and that, with common discretion, I thought we might secure their neutrality at least, if not their support. I mentioned this merely as my opinion, but added that, in the contrary event, I was satisfied it would be absolutely impossible for them to take the people out of our hands. We then came to the army. He asked me how I thought they would act. I replied, for the regulars I could not pretend to say, but that they were wretched bad troops; for the militia, I hoped and believed that when we were once organized, they would not only not oppose us, but come over to the cause of their country en masse; nevertheless, I desired him to calculate on their opposition, and make his arrangements accordingly; that it was the safe policy, and if it became unnecessary, it was so much gained. He said he would undoubtedly make his arrangements so as to leave nothing to chance that could be guarded against; that he would come in force, and bring great quantities of arms, ammunition, stores, and artillery, and, for his own reputation, see that all the arrangements were made on a proper scale. I was very glad to hear him speak thus; it sets my mind at ease on divers points. He then said there was one important point remaining, on which he desired to be satisfied, and that was what form of government we would adopt on the event of our success. I was going to answer him with great earnestness, when General Clarke entered, to request we would come to dinner with citizen Carnot. We accordingly adjourned the conversation to the apartment of the president, where we found Carnot and one or two more. Hoche, after some time, took me aside and repeated his question. I replied, 'Most undoubtedly, a republic'. He asked again, 'Was I sure?' I said as sure as I could be of anything; that I knew nobody in Ireland who thought of any other system, nor did I believe there was anybody who dreamt of monarchy. He asked me, was there no danger of the Catholics setting up one of their chiefs for king. I replied, 'Not the smallest', and that there were no chiefs amongst them of that kind of eminence. . . .

Hoche related to Carnot the substance of what had passed between him and me. When he mentioned his anxiety as to bread, Carnot laughed, and said, 'There is plenty of beef in Ireland; if you cannot get bread, you must eat beef'. I told him I hoped they would find enough of both; adding, that within the last twenty years Ireland had become a great corn country, so that, at present, it made a considerable article in her exports. . . .

"July 23.—I asked Hoche was he apprised of the Directory having honoured me with the rank of chef de brigade. He replied he was, and made me his compliments. I then observed to him, I presumed I should be of most service in some situation near his person; that I spoke French, as he might observe, very imperfectly; nevertheless, I could make myself understood, and as he did not speak English, I might be useful in his communications with the people of Ireland. He replied, 'Leave all that to me; as soon as you join, and that your regiment is formed, I will apply for the rank of adjutant-general for you; that will place you at once in the etat major; and besides, you must be in a situation where you may have a command if necessary'. I returned him a thousand thanks; and he proceeded to ask me, 'did I think it was likely that the men of property, or any of them, wished for a revolution in Ireland'. I replied, 'most certainly not', and that he should reckon on all the opposition that class could give him; that, however, it was possible that when the business was once commenced, some of them might join us on speculation, but that it would be sorely against their real sentiments. He then asked me 'did I know Arthur O'Connor'. I replied, I did; and that I entertained the highest opinion of his talents, principles, and patriotism. He asked me, 'did he not some time ago make an explosion in the Irish Parliament?' I replied, he made the ablest and honestest speech, to my mind, that ever was made in that house. Well, said he, will he join us? I answered, I hoped, as he was 'foncierement Irlandais', that he undoubtedly would. So it seems O'Connor's speech is well known here. If ever I meet him, as I hope I may, I will tell him what Hoche said, and the character that he bears in France. It must be highly gratifying to his feelings. Hoche then went on to say, 'There is a lord in your country (I was a little surprised at this beginning, knowing as I do, what stuff our Irish peers are made of); he is son to a duke; is he not a patriot?' I immediately smoked my lover, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and gave Hoche a very good account of him. He asked me then about the Duke. I replied that I hoped for his assistance, or at least neutrality, if the business were once commenced. He then mentioned Fitzgibbon. Of all men in the world, I endeavoured to do him justice, as I had to the

others he spoke of; and I believe I satisfied Hoche that he will not meet with prodigious assistance from His Majesty's Lord High Chancellor of Ireland. He then asked me 'what quantity of arms would be necessary'. I replied, the more the better, as we would find soldiers for as many firelocks as France would send us. He then told me he had demanded 80,000, but was sure of 50,000. That is a piece of good news. I answered, with 50,000 stand to begin with, we should soon have all the arms in the nation in our hands, adding that I had the strongest hopes that the militia, who composed the only real force in Ireland, would give us no opposition. 'Oh', said he, 'pour l'opposition, je m'en f——'; which the reader will not expect me to translate literally; but it was as much as to say that he disregarded it. He then asked me very seriously did I apprehend any royalism or aristocracism in Ireland? I assured him I did not; that in case of a change, we should most undoubtedly establish a republic; and I mentioned my reasons, which seemed to satisfy him. He observed, however, as Clarke had done before, that even if monarchy in Ireland were to be the result, it would not alter the system on which France was proceeding, as the main object was to establish the independence of Ireland, under any form of government, though undoubtedly she would prefer a republic. We then spoke of the aristocracy of Ireland, and I assured him, as I had done Clarke, that what I apprehended was, not the aggrandizement, but the massacre of that body, from the just indignation of the people, whom they have so long and so cruelly oppressed, adding that it was what I sincerely deprecated, but what I feared was too likely to happen. He said, certainly the spilling of blood was at all times to be avoided as much as possible; that he did conceive, in such explosions as that which were likely to take place in Ireland, it was not to be supposed but that some individuals would be sacrificed, but the less the better; and it was much wiser to secure the persons of those I mentioned, or to suffer them to emigrate to England, as they would no doubt be ready to do, than to put them to death; in which I most sincerely agreed, for I am like Parson Adams, 'I do not desire to have the blood even of the wicked upon me'. Hoche mentioned also, that great mischief had been done to the principles of liberty, and additional difficulties thrown in the way of the French Revolution, by the quantity of blood spilled. 'For, added he, 'when you guillotine a man, you get rid of an individual, it is true, but then you make all his friends and connections enemies for ever to the Government'. A sentence well worth considering. I am heartily glad to find Hoche of this humane temperament, because I hope I am humane myself, and trust we shall be able to prevent unnecessary bloodshed in Ireland, which I shall most

sincerely exert my best endeavours to do. I should have mentioned, that Hoche asked me whether the Defenders had ever sent any one to France to make representations. I answered, I could not positively say, but I believed not, they being, for the most part, the peasantry of Ireland, and, of course, not having the means nor proper persons to send. At twelve I went and saw Clarke.

"July 27.—I am surprised myself at the sang froid with which I regard the progress of my business here, so infinitely beyond my expectations. I had very little expectation of success the day I left Sandy Hook, and in fact I came merely to discharge a duty. Things have turned out miraculously to be sure. Think of my being at a council of war with Carnot, and Hoche, and Clarke, of my rank of chef de brigade, of my travelling now with Hoche, besides what yet may follow! It is absolutely like a romance. There is one thing I can say for myself. On reviewing my conduct in France, I do not see an indiscretion with which I have to charge myself. I think in my conscience I have conducted myself very well".*

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CHAPTER III.

Preparations for the Bantry Bay Expedition.

"August 1, 1796.—(Sings) 'Oh, merry be the first, and merry be the last, and merry be the first of August'. This is a sprightly beginning however. I am plaguy musical this morning, but God knows the heart. Called on Clarke from mere idleness: did not see him: but, coming out, met General Hoche, who took me in his carriage to General Cherin, with whom I am to travel. On the way, I told Hoche that I hoped the glory was reserved for him to amputate the right hand of England for ever; and I mentioned the immense resources in all respects, especially in men and provisions, which Ireland furnished to that country, and of which I trusted we were now on the eve of depriving her. Hoche observed,

* The military rank of adjutant-commandant was instituted by Napoleon to his active officers placed at his commands, or those of his marshals commanding corps-d'armee, and to be about his person, to take his orders on the field of battle, and put the same in execution, according as circumstances would require them to act; for which reason they ranked above the colonels, although inferior in command to major-general. At the peace, Louis XVIII. suppressed the rank of adjutant-commandant, and issued a royal ordonnance to have them rank with colonels of the etat-major. R. R. M.

that his only anxiety was about finding subsistence for the troops. I replied, that, as to that, I hoped there would be no difficulty; that it was Ireland which victualled the navy, the West Indies, and the foreign garrisons of England; and I reminded him of what I had before told him, that, in the late scarcity, so far from difficulties at home, she exported vast quantities of corn to that country. I might have added, but it did not occur to me, that we are now on the eve of harvest, so I am sure we will find abundance of everything. I went on to say, that my difficulty was not how to subsist, but how to get there, for that I dreaded that eternal fleet. Hoche laid his hand on my arm and said, 'Ne craignez rien, nous y irons; vous pouvez y compter; ne craignez rien'. I answered, that being so, I had not a doubt of our success. Hoche then asked me, 'Who were those Orange-boys ?' I explained it to him, adding, that as to them, it was an affair of no consequence, which we would settle in three days after our arrival. 'Oh', said he, 'ce n'est rien'. I then told him I hoped he would take care to have a sufficiency of cannoniers and artillery, with which we were quite unprovided. 'You may depend upon it', said he, 'that I will bring enough, and of the best, particularly the artillerie legere. . . .

"September 13, 14, 15.—At last I have brought Cherin to the point; he has received a courier last night from General Hoche, and tells me now I may set off with the first courier, or wait a few days for him, but I am tired waiting. I wrote, therefore, by his direction, a note to the Minister at War, praying an order to depart with the first courier for Rennes, and he has promised to get it for me by to-morrow. Huzza ! . . . .

"September 16, 1796.—At three o'clock in the afternoon left Paris. It is now exactly seven months and five days since I arrived there—a very important era in my life: whether it was for good or evil to my country and to myself, the event must determine; but I can safely say I have acted, all through, to the very best of my conscience and judgment, and I think I have not conducted myself ill. I certainly did not expect, on my arrival, to have succeeded as well as I have done; and I have been under some difficulties at times, having not a soul to advise or communicate with. I have now done with Paris, at least for some time, and God knows whether I shall ever revisit it; but, at all events, I shall ever look back on the time I spent there with the greatest satisfaction. I believe there is no part of my conduct that I need wish to recall, at least with regard to business. As to pleasure or amusement, I had very little. I formed, and endeavoured to form, no connections. I visited and was visited by nobody, French or foreigner, and left Paris, after seven months' residence, without being acquainted with a

single family. That is singular enough. The theatres formed my grand resource against the monotony of my situation; but, on the whole, I passed my time dull enough. Well, if ever I return, I will make myself amends. I am now like the Turkish spy, 'who passed forty-five years at Paris, without being known or suspected'. I dare say Mr. Pitt knew I was there, as close as I kept; if he did, it was by no fault or indiscretion of mine. . . . .

"September 26.—The general (Hoche) set off this morning for Brest. I hope in God he may hurry those fellows. I dread the equinoctial gales passing over and finding us unprepared. By Shee's discourse I fancy it is intended that we shall make a race for it. Happy-go-lucky in that case. I was in hopes the Spanish fleet would have joined us at Brest; but he tells me they are returned to Cadiz, after escorting Richery to some unknown latitude. Damn their foolish souls, they will be beaten, and the French also in detail; whereas, if they were instantly to join their united fleet in the Channel, they would be stronger than anything England could for some time oppose to them, and a week would be sufficient for our business. If they let this occasion escape them, as I fear they will, they need never expect to meet such another. I am in the horrors to-day. Well, let us see what Hoche's expedition will produce. He will be absent five or six days. Brest is one hundred and eighty miles from this. Time ! time ! At all events, for me the die is cast, and I am utterly desperate as to the event. Come what, come may; I have done, and am doing my duty; and if I fall, I fall. I have not, on that score, the smallest burthen on my mind. A short time now must, I think, put me at least out of uncertainty; and I am sure that the worst that can befal cannot be much more painful than the state of suspense and anxiety in which I have long languished. Once again, courage. Let us see what Hoche will say on his return. . . .

"October 4, 5.—I collect that it is resolved, if possible, to turn in a gang of six or seven thousand desperadoes into England, who will live at free quarters, and commit all manner of devastation. If this takes effect, it will embarrass her extremely. She has never yet seen the smoke of an enemy's fire; and I always remember, that 5,000 ragged, half starved Highlanders forced their way to within 100 miles' distance of London, and might, perhaps, have achieved what remained, if the Pretender had not been a poltroon. It is, to be sure, a horrible mode of making war; but England showed the way, by disgorging so many hordes of emigrants into France; and the enormities which have been committed in consequence, in this country, are such as to justify France in adopting any means of revenge; it is, in a word, but strict retaliation. I am curious to see how

England will relish a war of Chouans in her own bowels. Colonel Shee and I were employed yesterday in digesting and arranging different routes from the several harbours where we might land, to Dublin. I find him very reasonable. We agreed that our first object was to get ashore anywhere, and, of course, the nearest port to Brest was the best, as we could make any shift when we were once landed, our army being composed of veterans who have been in service in La Vendee for years, and are steeled against every hardship, having been well used to dispense with clothes, shoes, or even bread, at times. Supposing, however, we had a port to choose, we agreed it should be Belfast, or at least as near Belfast as possible; if not, Waterford, or that neighbourhood. The distance from Dublin is pretty nearly equal. We calculated, however, for, I believe, a dozen different landing places round the coast.

"October 6, 7.—A letter from Hoche. He says that he is moving heaven and earth to get things in readiness at Brest, and that he hopes in three weeks we may be getting aboard. The marine agents are scoundrels, and there is a scarcity of seamen, but orders have been this day expedited to all the military commanders along the coast, to make diligent search, secure, and send on to Brest all seafaring persons, and there is a reward of six livres a-head to the soldiers for all they can find, which will sharpen them up to the business. It will be November before we arrive, if we are so fortunate as to arrive at all; of course we shall have, in that case, a winter campaign of it. No matter, we are better able to stand it than those who will be opposed to us. The country gentlemen of Ireland, with their warm feather beds, their beef and claret, will make, I think, no great figure before our grenadiers, who have been seasoned these four years to all manner of hardships and privations in this execrable war of La Vendee, which Hoche has had the glory of terminating.

"October 17 (at Brest).—Our expedition, as well as the life of the general, has had a most providential escape. Last night, between nine and ten, as he was returning from the comedie, with General Debelle, and Hedouville, a ruffian, who was posted at a corner, fired a pistol at him, within five or six yards, which fortunately missed, and the villain instantly ran off, but was stopped by two of the aides-de-camp, who happened to come that way, before he had run one hundred yards. The pistol was likewise found where he had dropt it. On his being seized and examined, he confessed that he was hired by a person whom he described, to assassinate General Hoche, and was to have fifty louis for his reward. He threw himself on his knees before Hoche, who behaved incomparably well, and desired

him to rise, as no man should kneel to him, and tell the whole truth, assuring him that he had not himself the least resentment against him. The fellow then repeated his story exactly, and the two aides-de-camp set out with a guard in quest of the other villain, whom they found in bed, and brought to head-quarters. A magistrate being sent for, the two were confronted, and the latter denying everything, they were both, after a long examination, committed to prison. It seems the fellow who fired the shot is a workman employed in the arsenal; the other is lately from Paris, and says he is a horse-dealer. In order to induce the former to commit the murder, he told him that he was a royalist, and that it was for the king's service to assassinate Hoche, which, together with the promise of the fifty louis, determined him. The name of the former is Moreau, and of the latter Teyssierd. Nothing could be better than the general's behaviour through all this affair. For my part, I do not see what the royalists could promise themselves from his death; at the same time, it is beyond all doubt that this villain, Teyssierd, has come down from Paris expressly to have him assassinated. I do not at all suspect the English of assassination, but certainly, at this moment, they were much more interested in Hoche's death than that miserable Louis XVIII. In short, I know not what to think of the motives of this abominable affair; a few days may probably explain it further.

The general told Colonel Shee he had appointed me to the rank of adjutant-general, which will give me, as a military man, very great advantages; and he added, that one reason which kept him under restraint as to me, was the presence of that rascal Duckett, who had written to him an impertinent letter, and whom he intended to cashier next morning. He added many other civilities, to which Colonel Shee made the proper acknowledgments on my part. Certainly nothing can be handsomer than this conduct of the general. I am heartily glad, for divers reasons, that he is resolved to send Mr. Duckett to wander. Colonel Shee then told me that he expects we will set off in four or five days, and that he had requested of the general that we might travel together, and that the general had given orders to his aide-de-camp, Poiton, to that effect. The general has likewise read my address to the peasantry of Ireland, which he entirely approves, so all, as to me at least, is going on as well as I could desire. Huzza! I am an adjutant-general! . . . .

"October 20.—This day received my orders to set out for Brest the day after to-morrow. Huzza! huzza!

"November 1, 2.—I have just read in the 'Moniteur', the memorial given in by Lord Malmesbury, the English

plenipotentiary in Paris, the memoir of Charles de la Croix, and the reply of the Directory, which is admirable. I have not time to abstract them, but the negotiation is at end for the present. I never thought anything would come of it, for I did not believe Pitt serious; and, apparently, the Directory are of the same opinion, for it is on that principle they have framed their answer. My Lord Malmesbury may now go back if he pleases. . . . .

"November 4, Head-Quarters.—Found Hoche pressing Joyeuse extremely to be ready for the expedition, and Joyeuse starting every possible difficulty, particularly on the score of the transports. Hoche then said he would go with the men-of-war only, crowding as many men aboard as they could carry. Joyeuse then came down to five sail of the line and five frigates, the best sailors who might, by dint of seamanship and quick sailing, escape from the English, who were, he said, in waiting for them off Cape Clear, and who had also eclaireurs off Ushant, as every morning the report was that two large ships and three frigates were seen there. Colonel Shee asked him how many men, for a short passage, could he stow on the ships he mentioned; he said 600 on each of the line of battle ships, and 300 on each of the frigates. That makes in all but 4,500 men. The general then said that his word was pledged to the government and to his friends in Ireland; that the time was even elapsed for which he had engaged himself; that he would go in a single frigate, if the admiral could give him no more, and he pressed him again and again in the strongest manner. Joyeuse still hung back, and I believe he was sorry, to judge by his manner, that he had spoken of even five ships of the line; at length he proposed, merely, as I think, to gain time, to send out a vessel to reconnoitre, and bring positive intelligence of the state of the country, and another to learn the actual position of the English fleet; and, upon this proposal, the meeting broke up. I augur the worst possible event from any business in which the marine of France is concerned.* . . . .

* In 1792, when Villaret Joyeuse was promoted to the rank of captain, he was known to be inimical to the new order of things, but continued to serve under the republican government. He commanded under the Admiral Morard de Galles, who was superseded the year following, and Joyeuse was then made vice-admiral, on which occasion St. Andre, a member of the Committee of Public Safety, said, "I know that Villaret is nothing but an aristocrat, but he is brave, and will do his duty". The miserable policy of conciliating public enemies by conferring official favours on them, was amply demonstrated in France. Villaret did not do his duty; he sacrificed it to his own political predilections. After Hoche's serious complaints against him, Villaret tendered his resignation, he being charged with the marine preparations for the expedition. In his communications to his government, he predicted the failure of the

"November 24, 25.—The 1st of January I left Sandy Hook. The 1st of February I arrived at Havre, and if we arrive safe at our destination, it is possible that on the 1st of January next I may be once more in Dublin. Quanquam, oh! General Clarke set off nine days ago, at a minute's warning, for Vienna, by way of Italy. That looks like peace with the emperor; but, thank God, I see no signs as yet of peace with England; on the contrary, Lord Malmesbury and my old lover, Charles de la Croix, are keeping up a very snappish correspondence, which the Directory publishes regularly. I have been hard at work half this day translating orders and instructions for a Colonel Tate, an American officer, who offered his services, and to whom the general has given the rank of chef de brigade, and 1,050 of the Legion Noire, in order to go on a buccaneering party into England. Excepting some little errors in the locality, which after all may seem errors to me from my own ignorance, the instructions are incomparably well drawn; they are done, or at least corrected by the general himself, and if Tate be a dashing fellow, with military talents, he may play the devil in England before he is caught. His object is Liverpool, and I have some reason to think the scheme has resulted from a conversation which I had a few days since with Colonel Shee, wherein I told him that if we were once settled in Ireland, I thought we might make a piratical visit in that quarter, and, in fact, I wish it was we should have the credit and profit of it. I should like, for example, to pay a visit to Liverpool myself, with some of the gentlemen from Ormond Quay, though I must say the citizens of the Legion Noire are very little behind my countrymen, either in appearance or morality, which last has been prodigiously cultivated by three or four campaigns in Bretagne and La Vendee. A thousand of these desparadoes, in their black jackets, will edify John Bull exceedingly, if they get safe into Lancashire. Every day I walk for an hour alone on the ramparts, and look down on the fleet which rides below. There are about fifty sail of ships of war, of all sizes, of which, perhaps twenty are of the line".

expedition; he appears to have been one of Sir Jonah Barrington's order of prophets, who leave no means unattempted to fulfil their own predictions. In September, 1797, his name was placed by the Directory on the list of banished persons, but he was allowed to go into voluntary exile. In 1801, he was recalled by Buonaparte, and placed in command of a new expedition destined against St. Domingo. He was subsequently appointed governor-general of Martinique, and in 1809, when that island was attacked by an English force, he capitulated on easy terms. His bravery was not called in question, but his conduct was blamed by a court of inquiry. He remained unemployed till 1811, when he was named governor-general of Venice, and died there the year following. Biographie Citem. Tom. 4, p. 1521. R.R.M.

Map of Bantry Bay showing position reached by French Fleet.

"Bantry Bay Expedition—On Board.

"December, 1796.

"December 1, 2.—Received my order to embark on board the "Indomitable", of 80 guns, Captain Bedout. Packed up directly, and wrote a long letter of directions to my wife, in which I detailed everything I thought necessary, and advised her, in case of anything happening me, to return to America, and settle in Georgia or Carolina.

"December 3, 4.—As it is now pretty certain that the English are in force off Ushant to the number of sixteen ships of the line and ten frigates, it seems hardly possible that we can make our way to Ireland without falling in with them; and, as even the most successful action must be attended with damages in our masts and riggings, so that, even if victorious, which I do not expect, we may yet be prevented from proceeding on the expedition, considering the stormy season of the year, I have been devising a scheme, which, I think, in the present state of things in Ireland, can hardly fail of success. It is this:—That three, or, at most, four sail of the fastest going ships should take advantage of the first favourable moment, as a dark night and a strong gale from the north-east, and slip out with as many troops as they can carry, including at least a company of the artillerie legere, and steering such a course as, though somewhat longer, should be most out of the way of the English fleet; that they should proceed round the coast of Ireland, keeping a good offing for fear of accidents, and land the men in the north, as near Belfast as possible, &c. . . . .

"If we were able to go in force, a la bonne heure, but as we are not, and as I have no expectation but that we shall be well beaten, and the whole expedition miscarry, I look upon my proposal as the best means to save so much out of the fire, and perhaps, with the force I speak of, we might succeed, even though the main body might miscarry. I say perhaps, though in fact I do not doubt it. As to the general's objection on the score of the hazard, undoubtedly there is great hazard; but, in the first place, I look upon the actual hazard to be much greater on his plan, inasmuch as four ships have an infinitely better chance of escaping the vigilance of Admiral Gardner, who is watching us without with eighteen sail of the line, than fifteen, of which our squadron consists, not including frigates on either side; and as to fighting, they will beat us as surely with our fifteen sail as with four, and the consequence will be, of course, the failure of our expedition. In the next place, as to the hazard, there is no possibility of executing so great a measure as that which we have in hand, without infinite

hazard; and as we are undoubtedly the weaker at sea, we are to choose that party which offers us the least risk, and in that respect I have no doubt of the superiority of my plan. However, it is decided otherwise, and I must submit. Our force is of fifteen sail of the line, ten frigates, and seven or eight transports; that makes upwards of thirty sail, a force which can never escape the vigilance of the English, unless there should come a furious storm for two or three days, without remission, which would blow them up the Channel.

"December 12.—The etat-major came aboard last night: we are seven in the great cabin, including a lady in boy's clothes, the wife of a commissaire—one Ragoneau. By what I see, we have a little army of commissaires, who are going to Ireland to make their fortunes. If we arrive safe, I think I will keep my eyes a little upon those gentlemen.

"In consequence of the arrival of Richery, our squadron will be augmented with two if not three ships, and the army with 1,700 men, which, with 13,400 already on board, will make 15,100—a force more than sufficient for our purpose—if, as I am always obliged to add, we have the good fortune to reach our destination in safety. Shee tells me the general thinks the marine are trifling with him, on purpose to gain time until the bad weather sets in; when, if it holds any time, as is highly probable, our stores of all sorts will be exhausted, and the business must be given up from pure necessity. This I apprehend myself. He also says that Bruix, a rear-admiral, who is charged with the execution of the naval department, and in whose zeal the general had great confidence, has cooled exceedingly within these few days, so much that to-day, when the general called on him and was pressing him on our affair, Bruix, instead of answering him, was dandling one of his little children. The excuse now is, that we are waiting for some charts or plans, which must be washed in water-colours, and will take two days; a worthy subject for delay in the present stage of the business!

"December 15.—At eleven o'clock this morning the signal was made to heave short, and I believe we are now about to sail in downright earnest. There is a signal also at the point for four sail of enemies in the offing; it is most delicious weather, and the sun is as warm and as bright as in the month of May; 'I hope', as Lord George Brilliant says, 'he may not shine through somebody presently'. We are all in high spirits, and the troops are as gay as if they were going to a ball. With our fifteen thousand, or, more correctly, thirteen thousand nine hundred and seventy-five men, I would not have the least doubt of our beating thirty thousand of such as will be opposed to us; that is to say, if we reach our destination. The signal is now flying to get

under way; so one way or other, the affair will be at last brought to a decision, and God knows how sincerely I rejoice at it. The wind is right aft. Huzza ! At one we got under way, and stood out of the Goulet until three, when we cast anchor by signal in the Bay de Camaret, having made about three leagues. Our ship, I think, would beat the whole fleet; we passed, with easy sail, a frigate, 'La Surveillante', under her top-gallant sails, and nothing was able to come near us. We are now riding at single anchor, and I hope we shall set off to-morrow.

"This morning, to my infinite mortification and anxiety, we are but eighteen sail in company, instead of forty-three, which is our number. We conjecture, however, that the remaining twenty-five have made their way through the Yroise, and that we shall see them to-morrow morning; at the same time, we much fear that some of our companions have perished in that infernal Raz. We have nothing for it now but to wait till to-morrow. (At night). This day has passed without any event; the weather moderate, the wind favourable, and our eighteen sail pretty well together.

"December 18.—How, after all, if we were not to join our companions ? What will Grouchy and Bouvet determine ? We are enough to make the attempt, but we must then steer for the north of Ireland. If it rested with me, I would not hesitate a moment, and as it is, I will certainly propose it, if I can find an opening.

> "If we are doomed to die, we are enough
> To do our country loss; and if to rise,
> The fewer men, the greater share of honour.

"This damned fog continues without interruption. (At night). Foggy all day, and no appearance of our comrades. I asked General Cherin what we could do, in case they did not rejoin us. He said that he supposed General Grouchy would take the command with the troops we had with us, which, on examination, we found to amount to about 6,500 men. I need not say that I supported this idea with all my might.

"December 19.—This morning, at eight, signal of a fleet in the offing. I see about a dozen sail, but whether they are friends or enemies God knows. It is a stark calm, so that we do not move an inch, even with our studding-sails, but here we lie rolling like so many logs on the water. It is most inconceivably provoking; two frigates that were ordered to reconnoitre, have not advanced one hundred yards in an hour with all their canvas out. It is now nine o'clock; damn it to —— for a calm, and in the middle of December ! Well, it cannot last long. If this fleet prove to be our comrades, it will be famous news; if we had a fair

wind, we should be in Bantry Bay to-morrow morning. How if these damned English should catch us at last, after having gone on successfully thus far ? Our force, leaving Brest water, was as follows:—'Indomptable', 80 guns; 'Nestor', 'Cassard', 'Droits le' Homme', 'Tourville', 'Ecole', 'Fougueux', 'Mucius', 'Redoubtable', 'Patriote', 'Pluton', 'Constitution', 'Trajan', 'Watigny', 'Pegaze', 'Revolution', and the unfortunate 'Seduisant', of 74 guns (seventeen sail of the line); 'La Cocarde', 'Bravoure', 'Immortalite', 'Bellone', 'Coquille', 'Romaine', 'Sirene', 'Impatiente', 'Surveillante', 'Charente', 'Resolue', 'Tartare', and 'Fraternite', frigates of 36 guns (thirteen frigates); 'Scevola' and 'Fidele', armes en fiute; 'Mutine', 'Renard', 'Atalante', 'Voltigeur', and 'Affronteur', corvettes; and 'Nicodeme', 'Justine', 'Ville d'Orient', 'Suffren', 'Experiment', and 'Alegre', transports, making, in all, forty-three sail. Of these, there are missing this day, the 'Nestor' and 'Seduisant', of 74 guns; the 'Fraternite', 'Cocarde', and 'Romaine', frigates; the 'Mutine' and 'Voltigeur', corvettes, and three other transports.

"December 20.—Last night, in moderate weather, we contrived to separate again, and this morning, at eight o'clock, we are but fifteen sail in company, with a foul wind and hazy. I am in horrible ill-humour, and it is no wonder. We shall lie beating about here, within thirty leagues of Cape Clear, until the English come and catch us, which will be truly agreeable.

"December 21.—Stark calm all the forepart of the night; at length a breeze sprung up, and this morning, at daybreak, we are under Cape Clear, distant about four leagues; so I have, at all events, once more seen my country; but the pleasure I should otherwise feel at this day is totally destroyed by the absence of the general, who has not joined us, and of whom we know nothing. At the moment I write this, we are under easy sail, within three leagues, at most, of the coast, so that I can discover here and there patches of snow on the mountains. What if the general should not join us ? If we cruise here five days, according to our instructions, the English will be upon us, and then all is over. We are thirty sail in company, and seven or eight absent. Is that such a separation of our force, as, under all the circumstances, will warrant our following the letter of our orders, to the certain failure of the expedition ? If Grouchy and Bouvet be men of spirit and decision, they will land immediately, and trust to their success for justification. If they be not, and if this day passes without our seeing the general, I much fear the game is up. I am in indescribable anxiety, and Cherin, who commands aboard, is a poor creature to whom it is vain to speak; not but I believe he is brave enough, but he has a little mind. There cannot be

imagined a situation more provokingly tantalizing than mine at this moment, within view, almost within reach, of my native land, and uncertain whether I shall ever set my foot on it. We are now (nine o'clock) at the rendezvous appointed; stood in for the coast till twelve, when we were near enough to toss a biscuit ashore; at twelve tacked, and stood out again: so now we have begun our cruise of five days in all its forms, and shall, in obedience to the letter of our instructions, ruin the expedition, and destroy the remnant of the French navy, with a precision and punctuality which will be truly edifying. We opened Bantry Bay, and in all my life rage never entered so deeply into my heart as when we turned our backs on the coast. I sounded Cherin as to what Grouchy might do, but he turned the discourse; he is Taata Enos.* Simon is entirely of my opinion, and so is Captain Bedout: but what does that signify ?

"December 22.—This morning, at eight, we have neared Bantry Bay considerably, but the fleet is terribly scattered; no news of the 'Fraternite'. I believe it is the first instance of an admiral in a clean frigate, with moderate weather and moonlight nights, parting company with his fleet. Captain Grammont, our first lieutenant, told me his opinion is, that she is either taken or lost, and, in either event, it is a terrible blow to us. All rests now upon Grouchy, and I hope he may turn out well; he has a glorious game in his hands, if he has the spirit and talent to play it. If he succeeds, it will immortalize him. I do not at all like the countenance of the etat major in this crisis. When they speak of the expedition, it is in a style of despondency, and, when they are not speaking of it, they are playing cards and laughing; they are everyone of them brave of their persons, but I see nothing of that spirit of enterprise, combined with a steady resolution, which our present situation demands. They stared at me this morning when I said that Grouchy was the man in the whole army who had least reason to regret the absence of the general, and began to talk of responsibility and difficulties, as if any great enterprise was without responsibility and difficulties. I was burning with rage: however, I said nothing, and will say nothing, until I get ashore, if ever I am so happy as to arrive there. We are gaining the bay by slow degrees, with a head wind at east, where it has hung these five weeks. To-night we hope, if nothing extraordinary happens, to cast anchor in the mouth of the bay, and work up to-morrow morning; these delays are dreadful to my impatience. I am now so near the shore, that I can see distinctly two old castles, yet I am utterly uncertain whether I shall ever set foot on it. According

* See "Cook's Voyages".

to appearances, Bouvet and Grouchy are resolved to proceed; that is a great point gained, however. Two o'clock: we have been tacking ever since eight this morning, and I am sure we have not gained one hundred yards; the wind is right ahead, and the fleet dispersed, several being far to leeward. I have been looking over the schedule of our arms, artillery, and ammunition; we are well provided; we have 41,160 stand of arms, twenty pieces of field artillery, and nine of siege, including mortars and howitzers; 61,200 barrels of powder, 7,000,000 musket cartridges, and 700,000 flints, besides an infinite variety of articles belonging to the train, but we have neither sabres nor pistols for the cavalry; however, we have nearly three regiments of huzzars embarked, so that we can dispense with them.

"The day has passed without the appearance of one vessel, friend or enemy, the wind rather more moderate, but still ahead. To-night, on examining the returns with Waudre, chef d'etat-major of the artillery, I find our means so reduced by the absence of the missing, that I think it hardly possible to make an attempt here with any prospect of success; in consequence I took Cherin into the captain's room, and told him frankly my opinion of our actual state, and that I thought it our duty, since we must look upon the main object as now unattainable, unless the whole of our friends returned to-morrow, and the English gave us our own time, which was hardly to be expected, to see what could be best done for the honour and interest of the republic, with the force which remained in our hands, and I proposed to him to give me the Legion des Francs, a company of the artillerie legere, and as many officers as desired to come volunteers in the expedition, with what arms and stores remained, which are now reduced by our separation to four field pieces, 20,000 firelocks at most, one thousand pounds of powder, and 3,000,000 cartridges, and to land us in Sligo Bay, and let us make the best of our way. If we succeeded, the republic would gain infinitely in reputation and interest; and, if we failed, the loss would be trifling, as the expense was already incurred; and as for the legion, he knew what kind of desperadoes it was composed of, and for what purpose. Consequently, in the worst event, the republic would be well rid of them. Finally, I added that though I asked the command, it was on the supposition that none of the generals would risk their reputation on such a desperate enterprise, and that if another was found, I would be content to go as a simple volunteer. This was the outline of my proposal, which I pressed on him with such arguments as occurred to me, concluding by observing that, as a foreigner in the French service, my situation was a delicate one, and if I were simply an officer, I would obey in silence the orders of my

superiors; but, from my connections in Ireland, having obtained the confidence of the directory so far as to induce them to appoint me to the rank of chef de brigade, and of General Hoche, who had nominated me adjutant-general, I thought it my duty, both to France and Ireland, to speak on this occasion, and that I only offered my plan as a pis aller, in case nothing better suggested itself. Cherin answered, that I did very right to give my opinion, and that as he expected a council of War would be called to-morrow, he would bring me with him, and I should have an opportunity to press it. The discourse rested there, and to-morrow we shall see more, if we are not agreeably surprised, early in the morning, by a visit from the English, which is highly probable. I am now so near the shore, that I can in a manner touch the sides of Bantry Bay with my right and left hand, yet God knows whether I shall ever tread again on Irish ground. . . . .

"It was agreed in full council that General Cherin, Colonel Waudre, chef d'état major of the artillery, and myself should go aboard the 'Immortalite', and press General Grouchy in the strongest manner to proceed on the expedition with the ruins of our scattered army. Accordingly, we made a signal with the admiral, and in about an hour we were aboard. I must do Grouchy the justice to say that the moment we gave our opinion in favour of proceeding, he took his part decidedly, and like a man of spirit, he instantly set about preparing the ordre de bataille, and we finished it without delay. We are not more than 6,500 strong, but they are tried soldiers, who have seen fire, and I have the strongest hopes that, after all, we shall bring our enterprise to a glorious termination. It is a bold attempt, and truly original. All the time we were preparing the ordre de bataille, we were laughing most immoderately at the poverty of our means, and I believe, under the circumstances, it was the merriest council of war that was ever held; but 'De Chevaliers francais tel est le caractere'. . . . It is altogether an enterprise truly unique; we have not one guinea; we have not a tent; we have not a horse to draw our four pieces of artillery; the general-in-chief marches on foot; we leave all our baggage behind us; we have nothing but the arms in our hands, the clothes on our backs, and a good courage, but that is sufficient. With all these original circumstances ,such as I believe never were found united in an expedition of such magnitude as that we are about to attempt, we are all gay as larks. I never saw the French character better exemplified than in this morning's business. Well, at last I believe we are about to disembark; God knows how I long for it. But this infernal easterly wind continues without remorse, and though we have been under weigh three or

four hours, and made I believe three hundred tacks, we do not seem to my eyes to have gained one hundred yards in a straight line. . . . . I apprehend we are to-night 6,000 of the most careless fellows in Europe, for everybody is in the most extravagant spirits on the eve of an enterprise, which, considering our means, would make many people serious. . . . . My enemy, the wind, seems just now, at eight o'clock, to relent a little, so we may reach Bantry by to-morrow. The enemy has now had four days to recover from his panic and prepare to receive us; so much the worse, but I do not mind it. We propose to make a race for Cork as if the devil were in our bodies, and when we are fairly there, we will stop for a day or two to take breath and look about us. From Bantry to Cork is about forty-five miles, which, with all our efforts, will take us three days, and I suppose we may have a brush by the way, but I think we are able to deal with any force that can at a week's notice be brought against us.* . . . .

"December 25.—Last night I had the strongest expectations that to-day we should debark, but at two this morning I was awakened by the wind. I rose immediately. and wrapping myself in my great coat, walked for an hour in the gallery, devoured by the most gloomy reflections. The wind continues right ahead, so that it .is absolutely impossible to work up to the landing-place, and God knows when it will change. The same wind is exactly favourable to bring the English upon us, and these cruel delays give the enemy time to assemble his entire force in this neighbourhood, and perhaps (it is, unfortunately, more than perhaps) by his superiority in numbers, in cavalry, in artillery, in money, in provisions, in short in everything we want, to crush us, supposing we are even able to effectuate a landing at last, at the same time that the fleet will be caught as in a trap. Had we been able to land the first day and march directly to Cork, we should have infallibly carried it by a

* Captain A. T. Mahan, commenting on the Bantry Bay expedition, says:—"Now that fortune ceased to wait them with favouring gales, the weakness of the expedition became painfully apparent. Crews composed mainly of landsmen, with a very small sprinkling of able seamen, crowded and impeded at every turn by the swarming mass of soldiery, were ill able to do the rapid hauling of ropes and canvas necessary to a dead beat of thirty miles, against a strong head wind in a narrow bay, where every rod tells, and requires three or four rods of sailing to be regained; where sails must be reefed or hoisted, set or furled, at a moment's notice, and the canvas spread varies from half hour to half hour. Such a tug tasks the skill, as it proclaims the excellence, of the smartest single ship, though she find the channel clear of other vessels; but to a fleet of thirty-five, manned and equipped as those of Bouvet, and compelled to give way continually as they crossed each other's paths, it proved impossible to reach the head of Bantry Bay, where shelter would have been found from the east winds, which for the following weeks blew with relentless fury".

coup de main, and then we should have a footing in the country; but as it is, if we are taken, my fate will not be a mild one; the best I can expect is to be shot as an emigre rentre, unless I have the good fortune to be killed in the action; for, most assuredly, if the enemy will have us, he must fight for us. Perhaps I may be reserved for a trial, for the sake of striking terror into others, in which case I shall be hanged as a traitor, and embowelled, &c. As to the embowelling, je m'en fiche: if ever they hang me, they are welcome to embowel me if they please. These are pleasant prospects ! Nothing on earth could sustain me now, but the consciousness that I am engaged in a just and righteous cause. For my family, I have, by a desperate effort, surmounted my natural feelings so far that I do not think of them at this moment. This day, at twelve, the wind blows a gale still from the east, and our situation is now as critical as possible, for it is morally certain that this day, or to-morrow in the morning, the English fleet will be in the harbour's mouth, and then adieu to everything. In this desperate state of affairs, I proposed to Cherin to sally out with all our forces, to mount the Shannon, and, disembarking the troops, make a forced march to Limerick, which is probably unguarded, the garrison being, I am pretty certain, on its march to oppose us here; to pass the river at Limerick, and, by forced marches, push to the north. I detailed all this on a paper which I will keep, and showed it to Captain Bedout and all the generals on board, Cherin, Simon, and Chasseloup. They all agreed as to the advantages of the plan, but after settling it, we find it impossible to communicate with the general and admiral, who are in the 'Immortalite', nearly two leagues ahead, and the wind is now so high and foul, and the sea so rough, that no boat can live, so all communication is impracticable, and to-morrow morning, it will, most probably, be too late; and on this circumstance, perhaps, the fate of the expedition and the liberty of Ireland depend. I cannot conceive for what reason the two commanders-in-chief are shut up together in a frigate. Surely they should be on board the flag-ship.

" My prospects at this hour are as gloomy as possible. I see nothing before, unless a miracle be wrought in our favour, but the ruin of the expedition, the slavery of my country, and my own destruction. Well, if I am to fall, at least I will sell my life as dear as individual resistance can make it. So now I have made up my mind. I have a merry Christmas of it to-day.

" December 26.—Last night, at half after six o'clock, in a heavy gale of wind, still from the east, we were surprised by the admiral's frigate running under our quarter, and hailing the 'Indomptable', with orders to cut our cable and

put to sea instantly; the frigate then pursued her course, leaving us all in the utmost astonishment. Our first idea was that it might be an English frigate, lurking in the bottom of the bay, which took advantage of the storm and darkness of the night to make her escape, and wished to separate our squadron by this stratagem; for it seems utterly incredible that an admiral should cut and run in this manner, without any previous signal of any kind to warn the fleet, and that the first notice we should have of his intention should be his hailing us in this extraordinary manner with such unexpected and peremptory orders.* After a short consultation with his officers (considering the storm, the darkness of the night, that we have two anchors out, and only one spare one in the hold), Captain Bedout resolved to wait, at all events, till to-morrow morning, in order to ascertain whether it was really the admiral who hailed us. The morning is now come, the gale continues, and the fog is so thick that we cannot see a ship's length ahead; so here we lie in the utmost uncertainty and anxiety. In all probability, we are now left without admiral or general: if so, Cherin will command the troops, and Bedout the fleet; but, at all events, there is an end of the expedition. Certainly, we have been persecuted by a strange fatality from the very night of our departure to this hour. We have lost two commanders-in-chief; of four admirals not one remains; we have lost one ship of the line that we know of, and probably many others of which we know nothing; we have been now six days in Bantry Bay, within five hundred yards of the shore, without being able to effectuate a landing; we have been dispersed four times in four days; and at this moment, of forty-three sail, of which the expedition consisted, we can muster of all sizes but fourteen. There only wants our falling in with the English to complete our destruction; and, to judge of the future by the past, there is every probability that, that will not be wanting. All our hopes are now reduced to get back in safety to Brest, and I believe we will set sail for that port the instant the weather will permit. It is hard, after having forced my way thus far, to be obliged to turn back; but it is my fate, and I must submit. Notwithstanding all our blunders, it is the dreadful stormy weather and easterly winds, which have been blowing furiously, and without intermission since we made Bantry Bay, that have ruined us. Well, England has not had such an escape since the Spanish Armada, and that

* Bouvet was broken without trial by the Directory on February 15th, 1797. Chevalier asserts that "he despaired too soon of the success of the expedition. . . . and forgot that he should have been inspired only by the great interests entrusted by accident to his hands". Marine Francaise sous la Republique. Ed.

expedition, like ours, was defeated by the weather; the elements fight against us, and courage is here no avail.

"December 27.—Yesterday several vessels, including the 'Indomptable', dragged their anchors several times, and it was with great difficulty they rode out the gale. At two o'clock, the 'Revolution', a 74, made signal that she could hold no longer, and, in consequence of the commodore's permission, who now commands our little squadron, cut her only cable and put to sea. In the night, the 'Patriote' and 'Pluton', were forced to put to sea, with the 'Nicomede', 'flute', so that this morning we are reduced to seven sail of the line and one frigate. Any attempt here is now desperate, but I still think, if we were debarked at the mouth of the Shannon, we might yet recover all. At ten o'clock, the commodore made signal to get under way, which was delayed by one of the ships, which required an hour to get ready. This hour we availed ourselves of to hold a council of war, at which were present Generals Cherin and Harty and Humbert, who came from their ships for that purpose; Adjutant-Generals Simon, Chaseloup, and myself; Lieut.-Col. Waudre, commanding the artillery, and Favory, captain of engineers, together with Commodore Bedout, who was invited to assist; General Harty, as senior officer, being president. It was agreed that, our force being now reduced to 4,168 men, our artillery to two four-pounders, our ammunition to 1,500,000 cartridges and 500 rounds for the artillery, with 500 pounds of powder; this part of the country being utterly wild and savage, furnishing neither provisions nor horses, and especially as the enemy, having seven days' notice, together with three more which it would require to reach Cork, supposing we even met with no obstacle, had time more than sufficient to assemble his forces in numbers sufficient to crush our little army; considering, moreover, that this province is the only one of the four which testifies no disposition to revolt; that it is the most remote from the party which is ready for insurrection; and, finally, Captain Bedout having communicated his instructions, which are, to mount as high as the Shannon, and cruise there five days; it was unanimously agreed to quit Bantry Bay directly, and proceed for the mouth of the Shannon, in hopes to rejoin some of our scattered companions; and when we are there, we will determine, according to the means in our hands, what part we shall take. . . . .

"December 28.—Last night it blew a dreadful hurricane. At one this morning, a dreadful sea took the ship in the quarter, stove in the quarter gallery, and one of the dead-lights in the great cabin, which was instantly filled with water to the depth of three feet. The cots of our officers were almost all torn down, and themselves and their trunks

floated about the cabin. For my part, I had just fallen asleep when wakened by the shock, of which I at first did not comprehend the meaning; but hearing the water distinctly rolling in the cabin beneath me, and two or three of the officers mounting in their shirts, as wet as if they had risen for the bottom of the sea, I concluded instantly that the ship had struck and was filling with water, and that she would sink directly. . . . The frigate 'Coquille' joined us in the course of the day, which we spent standing off and on the shore, without being joined by any of our missing companions.

"December 29.—At four this morning, the commodore made the signal to steer for France: so there is an end of our expedition for the present—perhaps for ever. I spent all yesterday in my hammock, partly through sea-sickness, and much more through vexation. At ten we made prize of an unfortunate brig, bound from Lisbon to Cork, laden with salt, which we sunk.

"December 30, 31.—On our way to Brest. It will be supposed I am in no great humour to make memorandums. This is the last day of the year 1796, which has been a very remarkable one in my history.

January 1, 1797.—At eight this morning, made the island of Ushante, and at twelve opened the Goulet. We arrive seven sail: the 'Indomptable', of 80; 'Watigny, 'Sassard', and 'Ecole', 74; 'Coquille', 36; the 'Atalante', 20; and the 'Vautour', lugger, of 14. We left Brest forty-three sail, of which seventeen were of the line. I am utterly astonished that we did not see a single English ship of war, going nor coming back. They must have taken their measures very ill not to intercept us, but perhaps they have picked up some of our missing ships. Well, this evening will explain all, and we shall see now what is become of our four admirals and of our two generals-in-chief".*

[ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND, FROM EMMANUEL GROUCHY, GENERAL OF DIVISION.

'Au Quartier General a Bantry'.

PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

It is not war nor the scourges of war that we bring into your midst. We come to second your generous and frequent endeavours to obtain self-government. For too long a period has proud England laid her heavy and despotic yoke,

* "The Life of T. W. Tone", by his Son. Washington, 8vo, 1826, vol. ii., p. 16. et seq.

both on her neighbours and her own subjects. For too long has she regarded Ireland as a conquered province, from which she was permitted to export soldiers and sailors, a conquered province whose trade it suited her to fetter, in order that her own riches might increase thereby. In fine, England's political sagacity exhausted the resources, and the treasury of Ireland in order that she might be unable to reclaim her rights.

How often have you been indignant at the abusive use which England makes of the taxes which she extorts from you ? How often have you cried out against the attacks made by the British Parliament on the rights and privileges of the Parliament of Ireland. In an instant you burn with indignation. The example of America thrills you, and England, frozen with terror, at the rising of your brave volunteers, lifts for a moment the iron sceptre under which she has never ceased to make you writhe.

Irishmen ! the hour has arrived, when you can, when you must break this tyrannical rod. Seek a constitution free and independent, separate yourselves for ever from this overbearing state. We offer you our aid. We will give you weapons. Hasten ! Join your battalions with the French, and let us strike England, our common enemy. Soon she will disappear, and with her the miseries inseparable from war, and from the presence of armies, however disciplined they may be.

Irishmen ! France does not send us to conquer you. Regard us only as faithful allies. We will break your fetters. We swear to respect your persons, your property, and your religion. Rely on the republican honour as on the courage of the soldiers of liberty.

The general provisionally commanding the French army.

GROUCHY.

Bulletins issued in connection with the arrival of the French fleet in Bantry Bay.

December 30.—9 o'clock a.m. "By letters received in the night by lieutenant-general Dalrymple, dated Bantry, December 27, 11 p.m.—The French fleet at anchor in the same place. Wind very high. Reinforcements arrived from different places; the country assisting the army in every respect".

December 30.—1 o'clock p.m. "An express arrived this morning at 11 o'clock, from General Dalrymple, dated 28th December, and states that there has been a most violent storm, that the weather was extremely hazy, and that it was uncertain whether the enemy's fleet had been driven to sea or not. The troops were in high spirits, and the inhabitants displaying every proof of loyalty and attachment. A letter from Admiral Sir George Elphinstone, dated 'The Monarch', Crookhaven, 6 p.m., December 24th,

stating that he was preparing 'The Monarch' and 'The Daphne' frigates, to watch the enemy's motions or to join any squadron of His Majesty's ships that may appear".

December 30.—5 p.m. "An express from Lieutenant-General Dalrymple, brings an account, dated Bantry December 28th, of the enemy's fleet having got under weight about 4 o'clock p.m., on the 27th, since which period they have not been seen. The conduct of the people most meritorious".

Charlemont Papers, vol. ii., p. 311].

* * * *

CHAPTER IV.

Tone's Affairs in France and Holland, from January to July, 1797.

The 2nd of January, 1796, arrived at Brest with the remnant of the expedition from Bantry Bay. In the preceding month of May, Tone had written to his wife, desiring her to remove with all the family to France by the first opportunity. It was not, however, till the end of December, 1796, he had the happiness of hearing of their arrival at Hamburgh, and being then settled there, "his wife, sister, and children, his brother having decided to settle in America". The brother unnamed in the journal was Matthew.

The following letters of Tone to his wife will show how he was occupied from the time of the Bantry Bay failure to that of the preparation for the second expedition that was intended to have proceeded to Ireland from Holland:—

"Paris, January 13th, 1797.

"Thank God, you are safe thus far, with our darling babies! I will not hear, I will not believe, that your health is not in the best possible state; at the same time, I entreat you, as you value my life, that you may take all possible care of yourselves. I am only this morning arrived at Paris from Brest, whence I was despatched by the general commanding the army,* intended for Ireland, in the absence of General Hoche, in order to communicate with the Executive Directory. I am at present adjutant-general, and I can live on my appointments; and when the peace

* General Grouchy, second in command, who took chief command when Hoche was separated from the expedition. Ed.

comes, we will rent a cabin and a garden, and be as happy as emperors on my half-pay; at the same time, I am not without hopes that the government here may be doing something better for me; but for all this, it is indispensable that you be in rude health. Who will milk the cows or make the butter if you are not stout ? . . The sixteenth of last month we sailed from Brest, with seventeen sail of the line, besides frigates, &c., to the number in all of forty-three sail, having on board 15,000 troops and 45,000 stand of arms, with artillery, &c. We were intended for Ireland, but no unfortunate fleet was ever so tossed by storm and tempest; at length the division in which I embarked was forced to return to Brest, the second of this month, after lying eight days in Bantry Bay, near Cork, without being able to put a man ashore. We brought back about 5,000 men, and as the general has not yet returned, we are in great hopes that he has effected a landing with the other 10,000, in which case we shall retrieve everything. In the meantime I am here waiting the orders of the government. If the expedition be renewed, I shall, of course, return to Brest; if not, I will await your arrival at Paris. This is a hasty sketch of my affairs, but I have a journal for you in eleven little volumes. I have only to add that I am in the highest health, and should be in good spirits, if it were not for those two cruel lines where you speak of yourself. Let me now come to your affair, or rather Mary's. I will give my opinion in one word, by saying that I leave everything to her own decision; I have no right, and if I had, I have no wish, to put the smallest constraint upon her inclination; I certainly feel a satisfaction at the prospect of her being settled, and I entreat her to receive my most earnest and anxious wishes for her future happiness. As far, therefore, as my consent may be necessary, I give it in the fullest and freest manner. I write to M. Giauque, accordingly, by the same post which brings you this.* . . . I shall soon know now whether our affair will be prosecuted or not; if it is, I am of course compelled to take my share, and must return to my post; if it is not, I will go for you myself to Hamburg.

"I return to my own affairs. You desire me to write something comfortable, and, in consequence. I tell you, in the first place, that I dote upon you and the babies; and in the next place, that my pay and appointments amount to near eight thousand livres a year, of which one-fourth is paid in cash, and the remainder in paper; so that I receive now about eighty-four pounds sterling a year, and when we come to be paid all in cash, as we shall be some time or

* Giauque was a young Swiss merchant, who had come over from America in the same vessel in which the Tones embarked for Holland. He shortly afterwards married Mary Tone at Hamburg. Ed.

other, my pay will be about three hundred and fifty-four pounds sterling a year. I will rent a cottage and a few acres of land within a few miles of Paris, in order to be on the spot, and with our eighty-four pounds a year, a couple of cows, a hog, and some poultry, you will see whether we will not be happy. That is the worst that can happen us; but if our expedition succeeds, of which as yet I know nothing, but which a very few days must now decide, only think what a change that will make in our affairs; and even if anything should happen me in that event, you and the babies will be the care of the nation; so let me entreat of you not to give way to any gloomy ideas.

"Direct your answer to Le Citoyen Smith, Petite Rue St. Roche, Poissoniere, No. 7, a Paris.

"My sincere love to Mary and the little ones. God Almighty for ever bless you, because I doat on you.

"Yours, ever,

"J. SMITH".

Letters to Mrs. Tone.

"Paris, 17, 1797.

"With regard to your finances, all I have to say is, that

> When both house and land is spent,
> Then learning is most excellent.

I desired Reynolds, in my letter, to get you specie for your stock, and not to meddle with bills of exchange, and I see he did not pay the least attention to my request, 'for which his own gods damn him'. I do not well understand that part of your letter, where you speak of you having a bill on London, for 5000 dollars, which is not received. However, as Mons. Giauque is, or is about to be, one of our family, and as he is a man used to commercial affairs, of which I know nothing, I presume he will do his best to recover the money for you; but, if it should be lost, let it go! we shall be rich enough to make ourselves peasants, and I will buy you a handsome pair of sabots (in English, wooden shoes), and another for myself: and you will see, with my half-pay, which is the worst that can happen us, we shall be as happy as the day is long. I will, the moment I am clear of the business in which I am engaged, devote the remainder of my life to making you happy and educating our little ones; and I know you well enough to be convinced that, when we are once together, all stations in life are indifferent to you.

adieu Dear Tom. write forreturn of post at length.
You have got a trick of beginning your letters by promising
to tell your business in your next pray condescend for once
to tell it in the letter you are then writing — Every one here
is well as possible — We expect Matt any day.

Yours very truly
Wolfe Tone

Direct as before [ ] 9. 1791.

(Extract from a letter from Tone to Thomas Russell).

"I am surprised you did not receive my last letter addressed to you at Princeton, because I enclosed it in one to Reynolds and Rowan jointly, which it seems they received, which is a little extraordinary; however, as it happens, it is no great matter, for it is little more than a duplicate of the one you got by way of Havre.*

"I am heartily glad that Matt is safe and well. If I had him here now, I could make him a captain and my aide-de-camp for a word's speaking to the general; so that, if he has any wish for a military life, it is unlucky that he did not come with you, as I desired in my letter to you which miscarried. I will reserve for Matt the very first company of grenadiers in the army; so Mary will have two brothers, in that case, of the etat militaire, instead of one; and perhaps she may have three, for Arthur (of whom I have not heard one word since he left Philadelphia) is now old enough to carry a pair of colours.†

"February 11, 1797.—I gave you, in my last, a short sketch of our unlucky expedition, for the failure of which we are, ultimately, to accuse the winds alone, for, as to any enemy, we saw none. In the event, the British took but one frigate and two or three transports; so you see the rhodomontades which you read in the English papers were utterly false. I mentioned to you that I had been sent by General Grouchy, with his despatches, to the Directoire Executif, which you are not to wonder at, for I am highly esteemed by the said general; inasmuch as, 'the first day I marched before him, thinking of you, I missed the step, and threw the whole line into confusion; upon which I determined to retrieve my credit, and exerted myself so much, that, at the end of the review, the general thanked me for my behaviour'. I hope you remember my quotation, which is a choice one. I thought, at the time I wrote, that I should be ordered back to Brest, but General Hoche, who commanded our expedition in chief, has, it seems, taken a liking to me: for, this very blessed day, he caused to be signified to me, that he thought of taking me, in his family, to the army of Sambre and Meuse, which he is appointed to command; to which I replied, as in duty bound, that I was at all times ready to obey his orders; so, I fancy, go I shall. . . . I rely upon your courage in this, as on every former occasion in our lives; our situation is to-day

* These letters contained directions to my mother to carry the papers and everything from America. Can it be that Reynolds already meditated to keep them? Editor of Tone's Journals, &c.

† Arthur, who had joined his brother in America soon after his arrival, had been sent home in January, 1796, on an important mission by his brother, namely, to communicate the intelligence of his approaching departure for France, and the commencement of his negotiations with the French Government, to the northern leaders of the United Irishmen. R.R.M.

a thousand times more desirable than when I left you in Princeton; between ourselves, I think I have not done badly since my arrival in France; and so you will say when you read my memorandums. I came here knowing not a single soul, and scarcely a word of the language; I have had the good fortune, thus far, to obtain the confidence of the government, so far as was necessary for our affair, and to secure the good opinion of my superior officers, as appears by the station I hold. It is not every stranger that comes into France and is made adjutant-general, 'with two points on his shoulder', as you say right enough; but that is nothing to what is, I hope, to come. I cannot explain myself further to you by letter; remember the motto of our arms, 'never despair' ! . . . .

"I have written by this post to Monsieur Giauque, with a postscript to Mary, on the supposition that they are married. I most sincerely wish them happy; yet I cannot help thinking how oddly we are dispersed at this moment: no two of us together ! I am sure if there were five quarters in the globe, one of us would be perched upon the fifth.* . . . .

"Your ever affectionate husband,

"J. S., Adjt. Gen. ! ! !"

Theobald Wolfe Tone to his little daughter Maria.

"Dearest Baby,

"You are a darling little thing for writing to me, and I doat upon you, and when I read your pretty letter, it brought the tears into my eyes, I was so glad. I am delighted with the account you give me of your brothers; I think it is high time that William should begin to cultivate his understanding, and, therefore, I beg you may teach him his letters, if he does not know them already, that he may be able to write to me by-and-by. I am not surprised that Frank is a bully, and I suppose he and I will have fifty battles when we meet. Has he got into a jacket and trousers yet ? Tell your mamma, from me, 'we do defer it most shamefully, Mr. Shandy'. I hope you take great care of your poor mamma, who, I am afraid, is not well; but I need not say that, for I am sure you do, because you are a darling good child, and I love you more than all the world. Kiss your mamma and your two little brothers, for me, ten thousand times, and love me, as you promise, as long as you live.

"Your affectionate Fadoff,

"J. SMITH.

* At this time his brother William was in India, Matthew in America, Mary in Hamburg, and Arthur in Ireland. Ed.

"P. S. Get paper like this to write upon, and fold your letters square, like mine; or, rather, let M. Giauque do it for you. Let him also pay M. Holterman the postage of my letters to you".

To Mrs. Tone.

"Paris, March, 10, 1797.

"My Dear Life and Soul,

"I have this instant received your letter, and you see with what eagerness I fly to answer it. You are, however, to consider this but as the prologue to another, which will follow it in four or five days. I must again begin with what interests me more than all other things on earth, your health. Let me entreat you, light of my eyes and pulse of my heart, to have all possible care of yourself. You know well that I only exist in your well being, and, though I desire you to live and take care of our babies, whatever becomes of me, I feel, at the same moment, that I am giving counsel which I have not firmness myself to follow. You know the effect the imagination has on the constitution; only believe yourself better; count upon my ever-increasing admiration of your virtues and love for your person; think how dear you are to me—but that is too little; think that you are indispensable to my existence; look at our little children, whom you have the unspeakable happiness to see around you; remember that my very soul is wrapt up in you and them, and—but I need add no more; I know your love for me, and I know your courage. We will both do what becomes us. This very day the Executive Directory has ratified the nomination of General Hoche, and I am, to all intents and purposes, adjutant-general, destined for the army of Sambre and Meuse.

"J. SMITH".

Journal.

"Amsterdam, May 3, 4, 5, 6.—Tormented with the most terrible apprehensions on account of the absence of my dearest love, about whom I hear nothing, walked out every day to the canal two or three times a day, to meet the boats coming from Lieuschans, where she will arrive. No love! no love! I never was so unhappy in all my life.

"May 7.—At last, this day, in the evening, as I was taking my usual walk along the canal, I had the unspeakable satisfaction to find my dearest love and our little babies, my sister, and her husband, all arrive safe and well; it is

impossible to describe the pleasure I felt. (Here is an end of my journals now, for some time at least). Since I came to France, which is now above fourteen months, I have them pretty regularly for the amusement of my dearest love. As we are now together one more, they become unnecessary; we must wait for another separation".

Tone remained for about two weeks with his wife and children, and then he returned to Germany. Mrs Tone journeyed on to Paris.

From Tone's Journals during the period that General Tone was attached to the Battavian army. Written aboard the "Vryheid", of 74 guns, commanded by Admiral De Winter, at the Texel, July 10, 1797.

"June 12.—This evening the general called me into the garden and told me he had some good news for me. He then asked, 'Did I know one Lewines?' I answered I did, perfectly well, and had a high opinion of his talents and patriotism. 'Well', said he, 'he is at Neuwied, waiting to see you; you must set off to-morrow morning; when you join him, you must go together to Treves, and wait for further orders'. The next morning I set off, and, on the 14th, in the evening, reached—

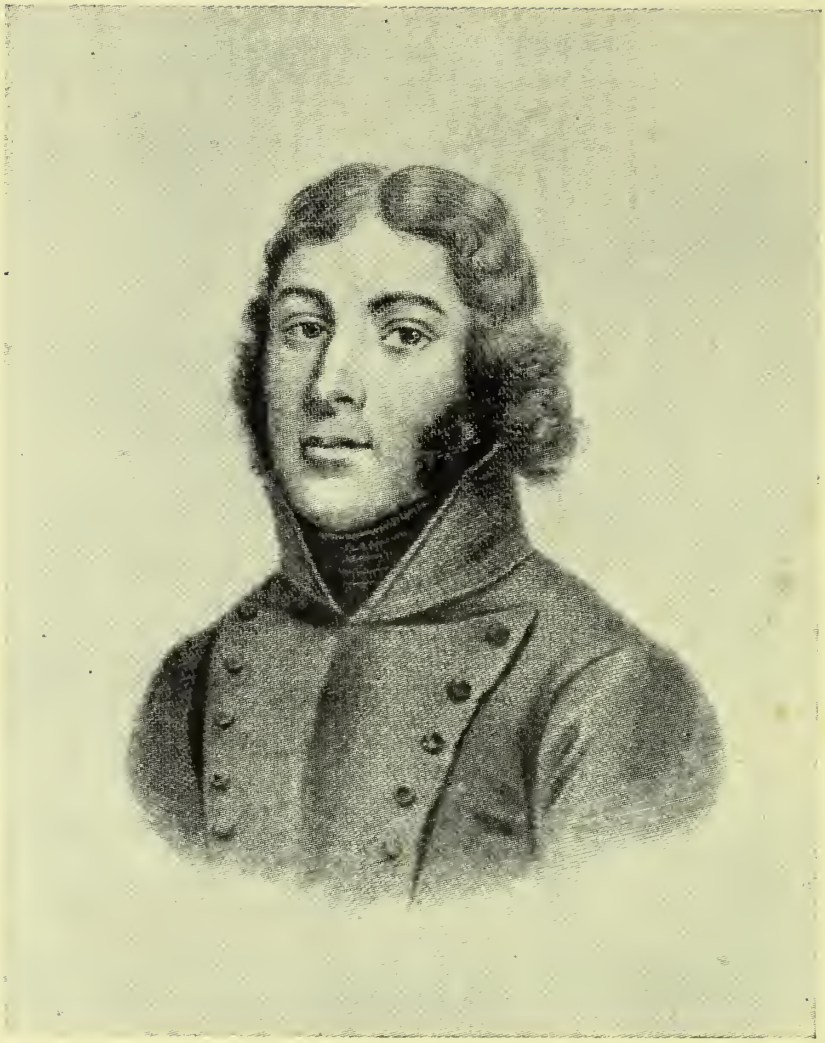
"(June 14) Neuwied, where I found Lewines waiting for me. I cannot express the unspeakable satisfaction I felt at seeing him. I gave him a full account of my labour, and of everything that had happened since I have been in France, and he informed me of everything of consequence relating to Ireland, and especially to my friends now in jeopardy there. I cannot pretend to detail his conversation, which occupied us fully our stay at Neuwied, and our journey to—

"(June 17) Treves, where we arrived on the 17th. What is most material is, that he is sent here by the Executive Committee of the United People of Ireland, to solicit, on their part, the assistance, in troops, arms, and money, necessary to enable them to take the field and assert their liberty. The organization of the people is complete, and nothing is wanting but the point d'appui. His instructions are to apply to France, Holland, and Spain. At Hamburg, where he passed almost two months, he met a Senor Nava, an officer of rank in the Spanish navy, sent thither by the Prince of Peace on some mission of consequence. He opened himself to Nava, who wrote off, in consequence, to his court, and received an answer, general, it is true, but in the highest degree favourable. A circumstance which augurs well is, that, in forty days from the date of Nava's leter, he received the answer, which is less time than he ever knew a courier to arrive, and shows the earnestness of the

Spanish minister. Lewines' instructions are to demand of Spain £500,000 sterling, and 30,000 stand of arms. At Treves, on the 19th, Dalton, the general's aide-de-camp, came express with orders for us to return to—

" (June 21) Coblentz, where we arrived on the 21st, and met General Hoche. He told us that, in consequence of the arrival of Lewines he had sent off Simon, one of his adjutant-generals, who was of our late expedition, in order to press the Executive Directory and Minister of Marine; that he had also sent copies of all the necessary papers, including especially those lately prepared by Lewines, with his own observations, enforcing them in the strongest manner; that he had just received the answers of all parties, which were as favourable as we could desire; but that the Minister of Marine was absolutely for making the expedition on a grand scale, for which two months, at the very least, would still be necessary. We both observed that it was not a strong military force that we wanted at this time, but arms and ammunition, with troops sufficient to serve as a noyau d'armee, and protect the people in their first assembling; adding, that 5,000 men sent now, when the thing was feasible, would be far better than 25,000 in three months, when, perhaps, we might find ourselves again blocked up in Brest Harbour; and I besought the general to remember that the mutiny aboard the English fleet would most certainly be soon quelled, so that there was not one minute to lose".

From June to October, 1797, we find by Tone's journal, active preparations were making for the Dutch expedition at the Texel. At the close of September, 1797, Tone, on his arrival from Holland in Paris, had found his wife and children there in health and spirits. He also found his friend Lewines, of Dublin, there in the capacity of accredited agent of the Leinster Directory of the United Irishmen, "as minister from Ireland"; and of that appointment Tone says: "I am heartily glad of it, for I have an excellent opinion of his integrity and talents". But there had been there another quondam leader of the United Irishmen, of whom Tone wrote a little later thus to his wife: "What, in God's name, is T. doing at Paris ? and especially why does he go by a name so notorious ? I will whisper you that it is out of pure vanity; but let it go no farther. (Sings)— 'Oh, 'tis thus we'll all stand by the great Napper Tandy' ".



General Lazare Hoche.

Medal struck to commemorate the French failure to land at Bantry Bay.

Tone, in his journal, 23rd June, 1797, says: "Hoche showed Lewines Simon's letter, which contained the assurance of the Directory 'that they would make no peace with England wherein the interests of Ireland should not be fully discussed, agreeably to the wishes of the people of that country'. This is a very strong declaration, and has most probably been produced by a demand made by Lewines in his memorial, 'that the French government should make it an indispensable condition of peace, that all the British troops be withdrawn from Ireland, and the people left at full liberty to declare whether they wished to continue the connection with England or not'. Hoche added, that preparations were making also in Holland for an expedition, the particulars of which he would communicate to us in two or three days, and in the meantime he desired us to attend him to Cologne.

"June 25.—At nine o'clock at night the General sent us a letter from General Daendels, commander-in-chief of the army of the Batavian Republic, acquainting him that everything was in the greatest forwardness, and would be ready in a very few days; that the army and the navy were in the best possible spirit; that the Committee for Foreign Affairs (the Directory per interim of the Batavian Republic) desired most earnestly to see him without loss of time, in order to make the definite arrangements; and, especially, they prayed him to bring with him the deputy of the people of Ireland, which Daendels repeated two or three times in his letter. In consequence of this, I waited on the General, whom I found in his bed in the Cour Imperiale, and received his orders to set off with Lewines without loss of time, and attend him at the Hague.

"June 27.—Hoche, on our arrival, began by telling us that the Dutch Governor, General Daendals, and Admiral De Winter, were sincerely actuated by a desire to effectuate something striking, to rescue their country from that state of oblivion and decadence into which it had fallen; that, by the most indefatigable exertions, on their part, they had got together at the Texel sixteen sail of the line and eight or ten frigates, all ready for sea and in the highest condition; that they intended to embark 15,000 men, the whole of their national troops, 3,000 stand of arms, eighty pieces of artillery, and money for their pay and subsistence for three months; that he had the best opinion of the sincerity of all parties, and of the courage and conduct of the general and admiral, but that here was the difficulty: the French government had demanded that at least 5,000 French troops, the elite of the army, should be embarked instead of a like number of Dutch, in which case, if the demand was acceded to, he would himself take the command of the united army, and set off for the Texel directly; but that the

French government made great difficulties, alleging a variety of reasons, of which some were good; that they said the French troops would never submit to the discipline of the Dutch navy, and that, in that case, they could not pretend to enforce it on their own, without making unjust distinctions and giving a reasonable ground for jealousy and discontent to their army; 'but the fact is', said Hoche, 'that the Committee, Daendels, and De Winter, are anxious that the Batavian Republic should have the whole glory of the expedition, if it succeeds; they feel that their country has been forgotten in Europe, and they are risking everything, even to their last stake—for if this fails, they are ruined—in order to restore the national character'. Both Lewines and I now found ourselves in a considerable difficulty. On the one side, it was an object of the greatest importance to have Hoche and his 5,000 grenadiers; on the other, it was most unreasonable to propose anything which could hurt the feelings of the Dutch people, at a moment when they were making unexampled exertions in our favour, and risking, as Hoche himself said, their last ship and last shilling to emancipate us. I did not know what to say. Lewines, however, extricated himself and me with considerable address. After stating very well our difficulty, he asked Hoche whether he thought that Daendels would serve under his orders, and, if he refused, what effect that might have on the Batavian troops. I will never forget the magnanimity of Hoche on this occasion. He said he believed Daendels would not, and, therefore, that the next morning he would withdraw the demand with regard to the French troops, and leave the Dutch government at perfect liberty to act as they thought proper. When it is considered that Hoche has a devouring passion for fame; that his great object, on which he has endeavoured to establish his reputation, is the destruction of the power of England; that he has, for two years, in a great degree devoted himself to our business, and made the greatest exertions, including our memorable expedition, to emancipate us; that he sees, at last, the business likely to be accomplished by another, and, of course, all the glory he had promised to himself ravished from him; when, in addition to all this, it is considered that he could, by a word's speaking, prevent the possibility of that rival's moving one step, and find, at the same time, plausible reasons sufficient to justify his own conduct, I confess his renouncing the situation which he might command, is an effort of very great virtue.

"June 28.—This morning, at ten, Lewines and I went with General Hoche to the Committee for Foreign Affairs, which we found sitting. General Hoche began by stating extremely well the history of our affairs since he had interested himself in them; he pressed, in the strongest

manner that we could wish, the advantages to be reaped from the emancipation of Ireland, the almost certainty of success if the attempt were once made, and the necessity of attempting it, if at all, immediately. It was Citizen Hahn who replied to him. He said he was heartily glad to find the measure sanctioned by so high an opinion as that of General Hoche; that originally the object of the Dutch government was to have invaded England, in order to have operated a diversion in favour of the French army, which it was hoped would have been in Ireland; that circumstances being totally changed in that regard, they had yielded to the wishes of the French government, and resolved to go into Ireland; that, for this purpose, they had made the greatest exertions, and had now at the Texel an armament of sixteen sail of the line, ten frigates, 15,000 troops in the best condition, eighty pieces of artillery, and pay for the whole for three months; but that a difficulty had been raised within a few days, in consequence of a requisition of the Minister of Marine, Truguet, who wished to have 5,000 French troops, instead of so many Dutch, to be disembarked in consequence. That this was a measure of extreme risk, inasmuch as the discipline of the Dutch navy was very severe, and such as the French troops would probably not submit to; that, in that case, they could not pretend to enforce it with regard to their own troops, the consequence of which would be a relaxation of all discipline. This was precisely what General Hoche told us last night. He immediately replied, that such being the case, he would take on himself to withdraw the demand of the Minister of Marine, and satisfy the Directory as to the justice of their observations; and that he hoped, all difficulty on that head being removed, they would press the embarkation without a moment's delay. It was easy to see the most lively satisfaction on all their faces at this declaration of General Hoche, which certainly does him the greatest honour. General Daendels especially was beyond measure delighted. They told us then that they hoped all would be ready in a fortnight, and Hahn observed at the same time, that, as there was an English squadron which appeared almost every day at the mouth of the Texel, it was very much to be desired that the Brest fleet should, if possible, put to sea, in order to draw off at least a part of the British fleet, because, from the position of the Texel, the Dutch fleet was liable to be attacked in detail in sailing out of the port; and even if they beat the enemy, it would not be possible to proceed, as they must return to refit. To this General Hoche replied, that the French fleet could not, he understood, be ready before two months, which put it out of the question. . . A member of the committee, I believe it was Van Leyden, then asked us, supposing everything

succeeded to our wish, what was the definite object of the Irish people. To which we replied categorically, that it was to throw off the yoke of England, break for ever the connection now existing with that country, and constitute ourselves a free and independent people. They all expressed their satisfaction at this reply, and Van Leyden observed that he had travelled through Ireland, and to judge from the luxury of the rich, and extreme misery of the poor, no country in Europe had so crying a necessity for a revolution. To which Lewines and I replied, as is most religiously the truth, that one great motive of our conduct in this business was the conviction of the wretched state of our peasantry, and the determination, if possible, to amend it. The political object of our visit being now nearly ascertained, Hahn, in the name of the committee, observed that he hoped either Lewines or I would be of the expedition, as our presence with the general would be indispensable. To which Hoche replied, 'that I was ready to go', and he made the offer, on my part, in a manner peculiarly agreeable to my feelings. It was then fixed that I should set off for the army of Sambre et Meuse for my trunk, and especially for my papers, and that Lewines should remain at the Hague, at the orders of the committee, until my return, which might be seven or eight days. The meeting then broke up.

"July 1.—In the 'Cologne Gazette' of that day, there was a proclamation of Buonaparte's, addressed to the government of Genoa, which I thought most grossly improper and indecent, as touching on the indefeasible rights of the people. I read the most obnoxious passages to Hoche, and observed that if Buonaparte commanded in Ireland, and were to publish so indiscreet a proclamation, it would have a most ruinous effect; that in Italy such dictation might pass, but never in Ireland, where we understood our rights too well to submit to it. Hoche answered me, 'I understand you, but you may be at ease in that respect; Buonaparte has been my scholar, but he shall never be my master'. He then launched out into a very severe critique on Buonaparte's conduct, which certainly has latterly been terribly indiscreet, to say no worse of it, and observed that, as to his victories, it was easy to gain victories with such troops as he commanded, especially when the general made no difficulty to sacrifice the lives of his soldiers, and that these victories had cost the republic 200,000 men. A great deal of what Hoche said was very true, but I could see at the bottom of it a very great jealousy of Buonaparte.

"July 4.—Instantly on my arrival at the Hague, I waited on General Daendels,* whom I found on the point of setting

* Herman Willem Daendels, a Dutch general, born at Hattem, in Guelderland, in 1762. From 1808 to 1811 he was governor of the Dutch East Indies, and four years later was entrusted with the organization of the Dutch Colonies in Africa. He died in 1818. Ed.

out for the Texel. He read the letter, and told me everything should be settled with regard to my rank, and that I should receive two months' pay in advance, to equip me for the campaign. . . .

"July 8.—Arrived early in the morning at the Texel, and went immediately on board the admiral's ship, the 'Vryheid', of 74 guns, a superb vessel. Found General Daendels aboard, who presented me to Admiral De Winter, who commands the expedition. . . . .

"July 10.—I have been boating about the fleet, and aboard several of the vessels; they are in very fine condition, incomparably better than the fleet at Brest, and I learn from all hands that the best possible spirit reigns in both soldiers and sailors. Admiral Duncan, who commands the English fleet off the Texel, sent in yesterday an officer with a flag of truce, apparently with a letter, but in fact to reconnoitre our force. De Winter was even with him: for he detained his messenger, and sent back the answer by an officer of his own, with instructions to bring back an exact account of the force of the enemy.

"July 11.—This day our flag of truce is returned, and the English officer released. Duncan's fleet is of eleven sail of the line, of which three are three-deckers.

"July 13.—I have had a good deal of discourse to-day with General Daendels, and I am more and more pleased with him. His plan is, to place such of our people as may present themselves at first in the cadres of the regiments which we bring out, until our battalions are 1,000 each; that then we may form a corps, and he will give us proper officers to discipline and organize it; that he will keep the main army of 8,000 or 10,000 men in activity, and leave the security of our communications, the guarding of passes, rivers, &c., to the national troops, until they are in a certain degree disciplined. A great deal of this is good, but we must be brought more forward in the picture than that for every reason in the world. . . .

"July 14.—General Daendels showed me to-day his instructions from the Dutch government. They are fair and honest, and I have no doubt he will act up to them. The spirit of them is, always to maintain the character of a faithful ally, not to interfere in the domestic concerns of the people, to aid them by every means in his power to establish their liberty and independence, and to expect no condition in return, but that we should throw off the English yoke, and that, when all was settled on that score, we should arrange our future commerce with the Dutch Republic on the basis of reciprocal advantage and accommodation. And I am convinced, from what I see of Daendels, and the frankness of his character, that he will act up to his instructions. The report to-day is, that we shall get under

way to-morrow, and I see a bustle in the ship, which seems to confirm it; but I follow my good old rule, to ask no questions. It is, to be sure, glorious, the prospect of this day.*

"Our land force I do not yet accurately know. I should have remarked that two or three days ago Noel, Minister of the French Republic, dined aboard us, with his wife. All was in grand costume, the shrouds manned, and twenty-one guns fired at his departure. He was dressed like a representant du peuple aux armees, in blue, with a tri-colour sash, and his hat a la Henry IV., with a band and panache, also aux trois couleurs. Yesterday the Swedish ambassador dined with us, with his unchat, &c. He is a damned dog, and a dunce, and an English partisan, as I soon found out, and, I understand, a spy. The rascal ! To-day, indeed at this present writing, I can see from the cabin windows ten sail of English ships of war, little and big, that have presented themselves off the mouth of the Texel. It put me in mind of the Goulet of Brest, where I have been often regaled in the same manner. Nobody here seems to mind them, and so, 'Je m'en fich, allone !'

"July 16.—The general tells me just now that a spy, sent out by the admiral, returned last night with the news that the English fleet is strong—twenty-four sail of the line. A few days ago he said nineteen; but he explains that by saying that five sail had been detached to assist at the execution of Parker the mutineer. The admiral's opinion is, that the fellow is a double spy, and that the story of twenty-four sail is a lie, in which I join him.

"July 17.—The wind is as foul as the Devil. At Brest we had, against all probability, a fair wind for five days successively, during all which time we were not ready, and at last, when we did arrive at our destination, the wind changed and we missed our blow. Here all is ready, and nothing is wanting but a fair wind. We are riding at single anchor. I hope the wind may not play us a trick. It is terribly foul this evening. Hang it and damn it ! For me, I am in a rage which is truly astonishing, and can do nothing to help myself. Well, well !

* **Line of Battle.**—Avant Garde—"Jupiter", 74 guns; "Cerberus", 68; "Haarlem", 68; "Alkmaar", 56; "Delft, 56. Frigates—"Monnikendam", 44; "Minerva", 24; "Dalphne", 16. Five sail of the line, and three frigates and sloops.

Corps de Bataille—"Vryheid", 74; "Staaten-General", 74; "Batavia", 56; "Wassenear", 68; "Leyden", 68. Frigates—"Mars", 44; "Furie"; "Galatea"; "Atalanta". Five sail of the line, and four frigates and sloops.

Arriere Garde—"Brutus", 74; "Hercules", 68; "Glyheid", 68; "Admiral De Vries", 68; "Beschermer", 56. Frigates—"Embuscade", 44; "Waakzenheid", 24; "Ajax. Five sail of the line, and three frigates and sloops, with twenty-seven sail of transport, from one hundred and fifty to four hundred and fifty tons burthen. R. R. M.

"July 18.—The wind is as foul as possible this morning; it cannot be worse. An officer sent out in disguise to reconnoitre is just returned; his report is favourable; he saw the English fleet strong—twelve sail of the line and seven or eight frigates; one of the frigates bore down on the admiral, and spoke him, on which he instantly made signal, and the whole squadron stood to the S.W. I do not conceive what could be the reason of that manœuvre, for it leaves us clear if the wind would let us stir out.

"July 19.—Wind foul still. Horrible! Horrible! Admiral De Winter and I endeavour to pass away the time playing the flute, which he does very well; we have some good duets, and that is some relief. It is, however, impossible to conceive anything more irksome than waiting, as we now are, on the wind; which is still worse, the same wind which locks us up here is exactly favourable for the arrival of reinforcements to Duncan, if Lord Spencer means to send him any. Naval expeditions are terrible for their uncertainty. I see in the Dutch papers, for I am beginning, with the help of a dictionary, to decypher a little, that the Toulon fleet is at sea since the 20th of June, strong, six sail of the line, two of eighty, and four of seventy-four guns, and six frigates. I wish them safe and well in Brest Harbour. There never was, and never will be, such an expedition as ours if it succeeds; it is not merely to determine which of two despots shall sit upon a throne, or whether an island shall belong to this or that state; it is to change the destiny of Europe, to emancipate one, perhaps three nations, to open the sea to the commerce of the world, to found a new empire, to demolish an ancient one, to subvert a tyranny of six hundred years. And all this hangs to-day upon the wind. I cannot express the anxiety I feel. Well, no matter! I can do nothing to help myself, and that aggravates my rage.

"July 20. This evening I had the pleasure to count nineteen sail of British vessels, which passed the mouth of the Texel under an easy sail. The general assures me, however, that there are not above twelve sail of the line among them, according to the comparison of the best accounts which have been received. Wind foul, as usual. The following is the state of our army: infantry, eighteen battalions, of 352 men, 8,136; chasseurs, four battalions, at 540 men, 2,160; cavalry, eight squadrons, 1,650; artillery, nine companies, 1,049; light artillery, two companies, 389; etat major, 160; total, 13,544. It is more than sufficient. Would to God we were all arived safe and well at our destination! . . .

"July 24, 25, 26.—To-day I saw in the Dutch papers that great changes have taken place in the French ministry. Talleyrand Perigord,ci devant Bishop of Autum, whom I saw in Philadelphia, is appointed to the Foreign Affairs, in place

of Charles de la Croix; Pleville Pelet to the Marine, in place of Truguet; Lenoir Laroche to the Police, in place of Cochon; Francois de Neufchateu to the Interior, in place of Benezech; and Hoche to the War Department, in place of Petiet. Of all these new men I only know Hoche. Sat down immediately and wrote him a letter of congratulation, in which I took occasion to mention the negotiation now going on at Lisle with the English plenipotentiary, Lord Malmesbury, and prayed him, in case that peace was inevitable, to exert his interest to get an article inserted to restore to their country or liberty all the Irish patriots who are in exile or in prison, and assuring him, at the same time, that I should never profit of such an article, as I never would return to Ireland while she remained in slavery.

"July 27, 28.—Yesterday we had a sort of fair wind, but which came so late, and was so feeble, that we could not weigh anchor; at eight in the evening it came round to the west, as bad as ever, and to-day it is not much better. I am weary of my life. The French are fitting out a squadron at Brest, which, it now appears, is to be only twelve sail of the line. Lord Bridport's fleet is twenty-two sail; ergo, he may detach, with perfect security, seven sail to reinforce Duncan, who will then have at least nineteen sail against our fifteen; ergo, he will beat us, &c. Damn it to all eternity! For me, I am in a transport of rage, which I cannot describe. Everything now depends upon the wind, and we are totally helpless. Man is a poor being in that respect. Fifty millions of money cannot purchase us an hour of fair wind.

"I am now alone in the great cabin, and I see from the window twenty-two sail of English vessels anchored within a league of our fleet. It is impossible to express the variety of innumerable ideas which shoot across my mind at this moment. I think I should suffer less in the middle of a sea-fight; and the wind is still foul. Suspense is more terrible than danger. Little as I am of a Quixote, loving as I do, to distraction, my wife and dearest babies, I wish to Heaven we were this moment under way to meet the enemy, with whom we should be up in an hour. It is terrible to see the two fleets so near, and to find ourselves so helpless. The sea is just now as smooth as a mill-pond. Ten times, since I began this note, I have lifted my eyes to look at the enemy. Well, it cannot be that this inaction will continue long. I am now aboard twenty days, and we have not had twenty minutes of a fair wind to carry us out. Well! well!

"July 29.—This morning the wind is fair, but so little of it that we cannot stir. About mid-day it sprung up fresh, but the tide was spent, and it was too late. To sail out of the Texel, there must be concurrence of wind and tide. The admiral went ashore to-day, and mounted the downs with his perspective glass, like Robinson Crusoe; he counted

twenty-five sail of three-masted vessels, and six luggers, or cutters, of the English, at anchor; he concludes they are about fifteen or sixteen of the line, the rest frigates.

" August, 1797.

" August 1, 2.—Everything goes on here from bad to worse, and I am tormented and unhappy more than I can express, so that I hate even to make these memorandums. Well, it cannot be helped. On the 30th, in the morning early, the wind was fair, the signal given to prepare to get under way, and everything ready, when, at the very instant we were about to weigh the anchor and put to sea, the wind chopped about and left us. Nothing can be imagined more tormenting. The admiral, having some distrust of his pilots for it seems the pilots here are all Orangeists), made signal to all the chiefs of the fleet to know if they thought it possible to get out with the wind, which then blew E. S. E., but their answer was unanimous in the negative, so there was an end to the business. In an hour after, the wind hauled round more to the S., and blew a gale, with thunder and lightning; so it was well we were not caught in the shoals which environ the entry of this abominable road. At last it fixed in the S. W., almost the very worst quarter possible, where it has remained steadily ever since. Not to lose time, the admiral sent out an officer with a letter addressed to Admiral Duncan, but, in fact, to reconnoitre the enemy's force. He returned yesterday with a report that Duncan's fleet is of seventeen sail of the line, including two or three three-deckers, which is pleasant. It is decided that we all remain on board the " Vryheid " and take our chance, which is very brave and foolish: for there is no manner of proportion between the good to be obtained, and the hazard to be run—a rule by which I am fond to examine questions. . . . . I am, to-day, twenty-five days aboard, and at a time when twenty-five hours are of importance. There seems to be a fate in this business. Five weeks, I believe six weeks, the English fleet was paralyzed by the mutinies at Portsmouth, Plymouth, and the Nore. The sea was open, and nothing to prevent both the Dutch and French fleets to put to sea. Well, nothing was ready; that precious opportunity, which we can never expect to return, was lost; and now that, we are ready here, the wind is against us, the mutiny is quelled, and we are sure to be attacked by a superior force.

"August 5.—This morning arrived aboard the " Vryheid", Lowry, of County Down, member of the executive

committee, and John Tennant,* of Belfast. I am in no degree delighted with the intelligence which they bring. The persecution in Ireland is at its height, and the people there, seeing no prospect of succour, which has been so long promised to them, are beginning to lose confidence in themselves and their chiefs, whom they almost suspect of deceiving them They ground their suspicions on the great crisis of the mutiny being suffered to pass by, without the French government making the smallest attempt to profit of it, and I can hardly blame them. They held out until the 24th of June, the last day allowed by the British government, in the proclamation offering a general pardon, and, that day being arrived, they have almost entirely submitted and taken the oath of allegiance; most of them have likewise given up their arms, but it appears that the number of firelocks was much less than was imagined. In consequence of all this, the Executive Committee has doubled its efforts. M'Nevin was despatched from Dublin to France, and sailed from Yarmouth on the 5th July; of course he is, I reckon, long before this, in Paris. Lowry, Tennant, and Bartholomew Teeling came together to Hamburg, where they arrived about a fortnight ago, and finding the letter I wrote to my sister, acquainting her with my being here, Teeling immediately sailed for England, and I am in hopes he will get back safe, in which case his arrival will give courage to the people; the other two came here. But, as I said already, it is hard to judge at a distance. Keogh, I know, is not fit for a coup de main; he has got, as Lewines tells me, M'Cormick latterly into his hands, and, besides, Dick is now past the age of adventure. I am surprised that Emmet did not show more energy, because I know he is as brave as Cæsar of his person. It seems to me to have been such an occasion missed as we can hardly expect to see return. Lowry and Tennant say there are now at least 80,000 men in Ireland of British troops, including the militia and yeomanry corps, who, together, may make 35,000; but in this account I am sure there is great exaggeration; for they spoke very much by guess, and a number that is guessed, as Johnson remarks, is always exaggerated. . . .

"August 10, 11.—Passed two days very agreeably with Lowry and Tennant, and then returned on board. They are a couple of fine lads, especially Lowry, whom I like extremely. I think he will make a figure, if ever we have the good fortune to reach our own country.

"August 12.—The wind is as foul as ever, and I begin fairly to despair of our enterprise. To-night Admiral De

* John Tennant afterwards entered the French army and was killed in battle in 1813. (Barry O'Brien's edition of Tone's Diary, vol. 2, p. 248).

Winter took me into secret and told me he had prepared a memorial to his government, stating that the design originally was to be ready for the beginning of July, and that everything was, in consequence, embarked by the 9th; that the English fleet at that time consisted, at the very most, of thirteen sail of the line, which could not make any effectual opposition; that contrary winds having prevailed ever since, without an hour's intermission, the enemy had time to reinforce himself to the number of seventeen sail of the line, so that he had now a superiority in force over the Dutch fleet, which, of course, rendered the issue of an engagement, to a certain degree, doubtful; that, by this unforseen delay, which might, and probably would, continue still longer, a great additional consumption of provisions had taken place, so that, in a very few days, there would be barely sufficient for the voyage north about. . . . . He proposed that a report should be published industriously that the expedition had been abandoned; but that from 2,500 to 3,000 of the troops, with twenty or thirty pieces of artillery, and all the arms and ammunition, should be despatched in a small flotilla for the original destination, where they should land the men, arms, and artillery, and he would charge himself with the execution of the plan. . . . These are, most certainly, very strong reasons, and, unfortunately, the wind gives them every hour fresh weight. I answered, that I did not see any solid objection to propose to his system; and that all I had to say was, that, if the Batavian Republic sent but a corporal's guard to Ireland, I was ready to make one. So here is our expedition in a hopeful way. It is most terrible. Twice, within nine months, has England been saved by the wind. It seems as if the very elements had conspired to perpetuate our slavery and protect the insolence and oppression of our tyrants. . . . .

"August 13.—The wind is as foul as ever, viz., S.W. . . . . General Dumonceau, our second in command, and I have been poring over the map of England, and he has been mooting a plan, which, in my mind, is flat nonsense, viz., to land at or near Lynn, in Lincolnshire, with his 14,000 men, where he thinks he could maintain himself until the fleet could return and bring him a reinforcement of as many more, and then march upon London and stand a battle. It is hardly worth while combating a scheme which will certainly never be adopted; it is sufficient to observe, that his plan necessarily includes that he must be absolute master of the sea during the whole time necessary for its execution, which, without going further, is saying enough. Besides, I presume, it is hardly to be expected that, with even 28,000 men, supposing he had horses to mount his cavalry and draw his artillery, which he would not have,

that he would be able to force his way through an enemy's country for above one hundred miles, who would have time more than sufficient to collect his forces, and make the necessary dispositions to give him a warm reception. . . .

"August 14.—I set off for the Texel to see Lowry and Tennant, and talk over the admiral's new plan (for Ireland) in order to have their opinion thereupon. After dinner we walked out to a pretty little farm, about half a mile from the town, where they are lodged, and sat down on a hillock, where we had a view of the fleet riding at anchor below. I then told them that I looked upon our expedition, on the present scale, as given up, and I stated the reasons assigned by De Winter, and which are unanswerable. I then communicated his plan, and desired their advice and opinion on the whole, and especially as to the material fact, whether they thought the people would join us, if they saw no more than 3,000 men. After a long consultation, their opinion finally was, that the scheme was practicable, but difficult, and that, by great exertions and hazards on the part of their chiefs, the people might be brought forward; but that for that, it was indispensable that the landing should be effected in the counties of Down or Antrim, but especially the former, where there were, in June last, twenty-four regiments of a thousand men each, ready organized, with all their officers and sub-officers. . . .

"August 15.—As it will require from three weeks to a month to arrange maters for the expedition on the present plan, Lowry and Tennant have determined to go on to the Hague, and, if they have time, to Paris, in order to see MacNevin and Lewines, and to join with them in endeavouring to procure assistance from France, and especially, if possible, to obtain a small armament to co-operate with that from the Texel, and which, by spreading the alarm, and distracting the attention of the enemy, must produce the most beneficial effects. . . .

"August 21.—Breakfasted with the general. He told me, in the first place, that the government had rejected a plan proposed by the admiral, viz., to transport 2,500 men, and the arms, stores, and ammunition, and had determined to persist in their original design; that, however, in consideration of the lateness of the season, he had prepared a memorial, which he showed me, for a new arrangement, which is shortly this—to sail out and fight Admiral Duncan. If the issue of the battle be favourable, to pass over immediately 15,000 men, or as many more as we can send, in everything that will swim, to Scotland; to seize, in the first instance, on Edinburgh, and march right on to Glasgow, taking every possible means to alarm the enemy with the idea that we meant to penetrate by the north of England, which is to be done by detaching flying parties, making

requisitions, &c., on that side; to maintain ourselves, meantime, behind the canal which joins the Firth of Forth to the Clyde, having our right at Dumbarton and our left at Falkirk, as well as I can remember, for I have not at present either the map or the memorial before me; to collect all the vessels in the Clyde, and pass over the army to the north of Ireland; to send round, whilst these military operations were going on by land, the frigates, and such transports, as few as possible, as might be necessary, to carry over the artillery, stores, &c. Finally, that the English would probably be alarmed by all this for their own country, and perhaps recall a part of their troops from Ireland. . . . .

"August 25, 26.—The general has submitted his plan to General Dejean, who approves of it entirely in a military point of view, provided the frigates can get round to meet us.

"September, 1797.

"September 1.—Admiral Duncan's fleet has been reinforced to twenty-one sail of the line, so that, even if the wind come round in our favour, it would be madness in us to venture an action with such a terrible inferiority of force; in addition to which, we have now, in consequence of the delays occasioned by the wind, not above ten days' provisions remaining for the troops on board. The plan proposed is, in fact, but an improvement on the last one, viz., to land the troops, and quarter them in the neighbourhood, so as to be able to collect them in forty-eight hours; to appear to have renounced the idea of the expedition, but in the meantime to revictual the fleet with all diligence and secrecy, which may occupy probably a month; to endeavour even to reinforce it by one or two vessels, which might, in that time, be got ready for sea. All this will bring us to the time of the equinox, when it will be impossible for the enemy, who will, besides, it is probable, have relaxed in his vigilance, in consequence of these manœuvres, to keep the sea. When all is ready, the troops are to be re-embarked with the greatest expedition, and a push to be made instantly for Scotland, as already detailed.

"September 2, 3.—This day the general gave me my instructions to set off to join General Hoche at Wetzlar, and give him a copy of the memorial containing the plan already mentioned. In addition, he gave me verbal instructions to the following import: that, in addition to the written plan, it might be expedient to follow up the first debarkation by a second of 15,000 of the French troops now in the pay of Holland, with which reinforcement, the army being brought

up to 30,000 men, could maintain itself in Scotland in spite of any force that could be brought against them; that they might even penetrate into England, and by that means force the enemy to a peace; that 25,000 might be employed on this service, and the remaining 5,000 detached into Ireland, from whence it was morally certain that a great portion of the troops would be withdrawn to defend England itself; that, if General Hoche would in that case take the command of the united armies, he (Daendels) desired nothing better than to serve under him; if not, he was ready to serve under any French general, being a senior officer; in which case each army was, as to all matters of discipline, administration, &c., to remain under their respective chiefs. . . . .

"September 13.—This day I saw General Hoche in Paris, who is just returned from Frankfort. He has been very ill with a violent cold, and has still a cough, which makes me seriously uneasy about him; he does not seem to apprehend anything himself, but I should not be surprised, for my part, if, in three months, he were in a rapid consumption. He is dreadfully altered, and has a dry, hollow cough, that it is distressing to the last degree to hear. I should be most sincerely and truly sorry if anything were to happen him, but I very much fear he will scarcely throw off his present illness. I immediately explained to him the cause of my arrival, gave him Daendel's plan, and the map of Scotland, and such further elucidation as I was able in conversation. He shook his head at the idea of a second debarkation at the mouth of the Clyde, and observed, that if we got safe into Scotland, the British would immediately detach a squadron of frigates into the Irish Channel, which would arrive, to a moral certainty, before the Dutch frigates, which were, according to the plan proposed, to go north about, and that they would thus be cut of from all communication with Ireland.

"September 15, 16, 17.—The general's health is in a most alarming state, and nobody here seems to suspect it, at least to the extent that I do. I look on it as a moral impossibility that he should hold out long, if he persists to remain at the army, as he seems determined to do. As for his physician, I have no great faith in his skill, and, in short, I have the most serious alarms for his life. I should be sincerely sorry, for every reason, public and private, that we should lose him. Urgent as the affair is on which I am here, I have found it impossible to speak to him about it, and God knows when, or whether I may ever find an opportunity, which, in addition to my personal regard and love for him, is a circumstance which very much aggravates my uneasiness. To-day he has been removed by four grenadiers from one chamber to another: for he is unable to walk. It is terrible

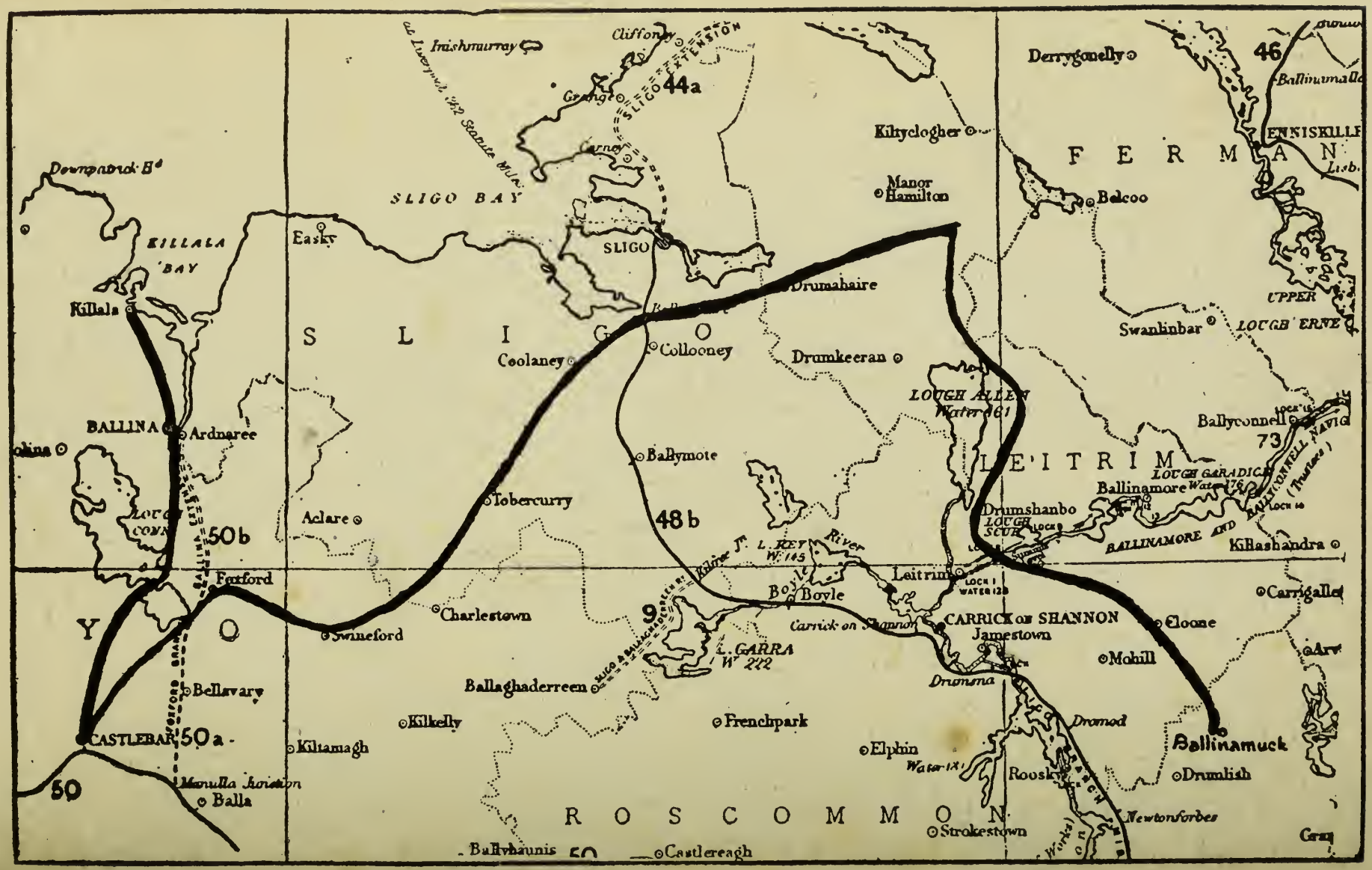
to see a fine handsome fellow, in the very flower of his youth and strength, so reduced. My heart bleeds for him. I am told that the late attacks made on him by the royalists in the Convention, and the journalists in their pay, preyed exceedingly on his spirits, and are the probable cause of his present illness. Is it not strange that a man who has faced death a thousand times with intrepidity in the field, should sink under the calumny of a rabble of miscreants ? . . .

"September 18-19.—My fears with regard to General Hoche are too well founded. He died this morning at four o'clock. His lungs seemed to me quite gone. This most unfortunate event has so confounded and distressed me that I know not what to think, nor what will be the consequence. . . .

"October 15.—The day after the proclamation of the peace of France with Austria, I saw an arrete of the Directory, ordaining the formation of an army, to be called l'armee d'Angleterre, and appointing Buonaparte to command it. Bravo ! This looks as if they were in earnest. General Desaix,* of the army of the Rhine, who distinguished himself so much by his defence of Kehl against Prince Charles in the last campaign, is ordered to superintend the organization of the army until the arrival of Buonaparte. All this is famous news.

"It is singular enough that I should have forgotten to mention in its place the famous battle fought on the 11th of October, between the English fleet, under Admiral Duncan, and the Dutch, commanded by De Winter. It shows the necessity of making memorandums on the moment. There never was a more complete victory than that gained by the English. The fleets were equal in number, but they had the advantage in number of guns and weight of metal. De Winter fought like a lion, and defended himself to the last extremity; but was at length forced to strike, as were nine of his fleet, out of sixteen whereof it consisted. With him were taken Admiral Reyntzies, who is since dead; and Meurer Bloys lost his right arm, and Story is the only one who came off clear; the two last were not taken. I cannot conceive why the Dutch government sent out their fleet at that season, without motive or object, as far as I can learn. My opinion is, that it is direct treason, and that the fleet was sold to Pitt; and so think Barras, Pleville le Pelley, and even Meyer, the Dutch Ambassador, whom I have seen once or twice.

* Louis Charles Desaix de Veygoux, born at St. Hilaire d'Ayat, in Auvergne, in 1768. He distinguished himself in Moreau's retreat through the Black Forest. Behind the fortress of Kehl he resisted the Austrians for two months, only capitulating when his ammunition was exhausted.



Map illustrating Humbert's Campaign.

"November, 1797.

"November 1, 2, 3.—My brother Matthew joined me from Hamburg, where he arrived about a month ago. It is a great satisfaction to me, and I hope he arrives just in time to take a part in the expedition.

"November 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.—This day General Hedouville brought me to General Berthier, and presented me to him, recommending me in the warmest manner. We had very little conversation, but he promised to speak of me to General Buonaparte, whom he sets off to join in three or four days. Two days after, I called, and left for him a memorial of about five lines, addressed to Buonaparte, offering my services, &c. It is droll enough I should be writing to Buonaparte.

"November 20.—Yesterday General Hedouville presented me to Desaix, who is arrived within these few days. I could not possibly desire to meet a more favourable reception; he examined me a good deal as to the localities of Ireland, the face of the country, the facility of finding provisions; on which I informed him as well as I could. He told me that he had not directly the power himself to name the officers who were to be employed in the army of England, but that I need not be uneasy, for I might rely I should be of the number. His expression at parting was, 'Laissez moi faire, nous arrangerons tout cela'. So I may happen to have another offer at John Bull before I die. I desire it. . . . .

"November 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.—This day we, viz., Lewines, Lowry, Tennant, Orr, Teeling, and myself, gave a grand dinner at Meots, to General Desaix, Hedouville, Watrin, Mermet, Dufalga, and one or two of their aides-de-camp. . .

"December, 1797.

"December 11, 12.—Called this day, with Lewines, on General Desaix, and gave him Taylor's map of Ireland. He tells us to be under no anxiety; that the French government will never quit the grip which they have got of England, till they humble her to the dust; that it is their wish and their interest (that of all France, as well as of Ireland); that the government now had means, and powerful ones, particularly money, and they would devote them all to this great object; it might be a little sooner or a little later, but that the success of the measure was inevitable. Barras has lately, in one or two different conversations, gone as far with Lewines as Desaix with me.

"December 13.—Talleyrand Perigord sent for Lewines this morning, to tell him that the Directory were positively determined on our business; that the arrangements were all concluded upon, and that everything would be ready for April next, about four months from this. All this is very good. . . .

"December 18, 19, 20, 21.—General Desaix brought Lewines and me this morning and introduced us to Buonaparte, at his house in the Rue Chantereine. He lives in the greatest simplicity; his house is small, but neat, and all the furniture and ornaments in the most classical taste. He is about five feet six inches high, slender, and well made, but stoops considerably; he looks at least ten years older than he is, owing to the great fatigues he underwent in his immortal campaign of Italy. His face is that of a profound thinker, but bears no marks of that great enthusiasm and unceasing activity by which he has been so much distinguished. It is rather, to my mind, the countenance of a mathematician than of a general. He has a fine eye, and a great firmness about his mouth; he speaks low and hollow. So much for his manner and figure. We had not much discourse with him, and what little there was, was between him and Lewines, to whom, as our ambassador, I gave the pas. We told him that Tennant was about to depart for Ireland, and was ready to charge himself with his orders, if he had any to give. He desired us to bring him the same evening, and so we took our leave. In the evening we returned with Tennant,* and Lewines had a good deal of conversation with him; that is to say, Lewines insensed him a good deal on Irish affairs, of which he appears a good deal uninformed: for example, he seems convinced that our population is not more than two millions, which is nonsense. Buonaparte listened, but said very little. When all this was finished, he desired that Tennant might put off his departure for a few days, and then, turning to me, asked whether I was not an adjutant-general. To which I answered, that I have the honour to be attached to General Hoche in that capacity. He then asked me where I had learned to speak French. To which I replied, that I had learned the little that I knew since my arrival in France, about twenty months ago. He then desired us to return the next evening but one, at the same hour, and so we parted. . . .

"December 23.—Called this evening on Buonaparte, by appointment, with Tennant and Lewines, and saw him for about five minutes. Lewines gave him a copy of the memorials I delivered to the government in February, 1796

* John Tennant of Belfast. He afterwards entered the French army, and was killed in battle in 1813. Ed.

(nearly two years ago), and which, fortunately, have been well verified in every material fact, by everything that has taken place in Ireland since. He also gave him Taylor's map, and showed him half-a-dozen of Hoche's letters, which Buonaparte read over. He then desired us to return in two or three days, with such documents relating to Ireland as we were possessed of, in the meantime, that Tennant should postpone his departure. We then left him. His manner is cold, and he speaks very little; it is not, however, so dry as that of Hoche, but seems rather to proceed from languor than anything else. He is perfectly civil, however, to us; but ,from anything we have yet seen or heard from him, it is impossible to augur anything good or bad. We have now seen the greatest man in Europe three times, and I am astonished to think how little I have to record about him. I am sure I wrote ten times as much about my first interview with Charles de la Croix, but then I was a greenhorn; I am now a little used to see great men, and great statesmen, and great generals, and that has, in some degree, broke down my admiration. Yet, after all, it is a droll thing that I should become acquainted with Buonaparte. This time twelve months I arrived in Brest from my expedition to Bantry Bay. Well, the third time, they say, is the charm. . . . .

" January, 1798.

" January 1.—I wish myself the compliments of the season; a merry Christmas and a happy New Year. Received a letter from my sister, wherein she informs me that my father has at length received a letter from my brother William, of whom I have not heard since 1794; he is alive and well, in the service of the Mahrattas, with a liberal appointment of £750 per annum, and this is the whole of what she tells me, and, I suppose, of what she knows.

" One or two things have happened lately, which gave me personally some pleasure. The Minister of Foreign Affairs has written to the Minister of Police, that, whereas Pitt may probably endeavour to slide in some of his emissaries under the character of refugee United Irishmen, none be permitted to remain but such as I may vouch for, which shows they have some confidence in me. The first use I made of it was to apply for the liberty of two lads, named Burgess and Macan, who are detained at Liege, and I hope they are enlarged before this. Another thing is a young man, whom I do not know, named M'Kenna, who was recommended, as he says, by Tallien, applied to Buonaparte to be employed as his secretary and interpreter. Buonaparte,

after some discourse, gave him, for answer, to address himself to me, and that I should report thereupon to him, Buonaparte. All this is very good; I have not seen the general since, but expect I shall in a few days. . . .

"January 7.—I saw Buonaparte again. After Lewines had had a good deal of discourse with him, I mentioned the affair of M'Kenna, who desires to be employed as secretary. Buonaparte observed that he believed the world thought he had fifty secretaries, whereas he had but one; of course there was an end of that business; however, he bid me see what the man was fit for, and let him know. I took this opportunity to mention the desire all the refuge United Irishmen now in Paris had to bear a part in the expedition, and the utility they would be of in case of a landing in Ireland. He answered that they would all be undoubtedly employed, and desired me to give him in, for that purpose, a list of their names. Finally, I spoke of myself, telling him that General Desaix had informed me that I was carried on the tableau of the Armee Angleterre; he said, 'I was'. I then observed that I did not pretend to be of the smallest use to him whilst we were in France, but that I hoped to be servicable to him on the other side of the water; that I did not give myself to him at all for a military man, having neither the knowledge nor the experience that would justify me in charging myself with any function. 'Mais vous etes brave', said he, interrupting me. I replied that, when the occasion presented itself, that would appear. 'Eh bien', said he, 'cela suffit'. We then took our leave. . . .

"February 1.—The number of Irish refugees is considerably increased. Independent of Lewines, Tennant, and Lowry, of whom I have spoken, there are Teeling, of Lisburn; Orr, of Derry; M'Mahon, of County Down; Macan and Burgess, of County Louth; Napper Tandy, and my brother. There is also one Maguire, who was sent by Reynolds from Philadelphia, in consequence of my letter to him by Monroe, and one Ashley, an Englishman, formerly secretary to the Corresponding Society, and one of those who were tried with Thomas Hardy, in London, for high treason. We all do very well except Napper Tandy, who is not behaving correctly. He began some months ago by caballing against me with a priest of the name of Quigley, who is since gone off, no one knows whither; the circumstances of this petty intrigue are not worth my recording. It is sufficient to say that Tandy took on him to summon a meeting of the Irish refugees, at which Lewines and I were to be arraigned, on I know not what charges, by himself and Quigley. Lewines refused to attend, but I went, and when I appeared, there was no one found to bring forward a charge against me, though I called three times to know 'whether any person had anything to

offer'. In consequence of this manœuvre, I have had no communication since with Tandy, who has also lost ground, by this mean behaviour, with all the rest of his countrymen; he is, I fancy, pestering the government here with applications and memorials, and gives himself out for an old officer and a man of great property in Ireland, as I judge from what General Murat said to me, in speaking of him the other night at Buonaparte's. He asked me did I know one Tandy, 'un ancien militaire, n'est ce pas ?' I said I did know him, but could not say that he was exactly 'un ancien militaire', as he had never served but in the Volunteer corps of Ireland, a body which resembled pretty much the Garde Nationale of France at the beginning of the Revolution. 'c'est un tres riche proprietaire'. I told him I believed he was always in easy circumstances; and there the discourse ended. By this, I see how he is showing himself off here. He has got lately a coadjutor in the famous Thomas Muir, who has arrived at Paris, and has inserted two or three very foolish articles, relating to the United Irishmen now in Paris, with the exception of Tandy. It was settled that Lowry, Orr, Lewines, and myself should wait upon Muir, and, after thanking him for his good intentions, entreat him not to introduce our business into any publications which he might hereafter think proper to make. . . .

The attitude of the French Republic towards Great Britain and Ireland in 1798 may be judged from the following:—"Secret Intelligence from France." January 1798. "The French ruler's plan is:—Never to make peace with a King of England, but with an English Republic. A former plan was to make England, Scotland, and Ireland a federative republic. By an improved resolution, they are to be transformed in three distinct, separate and independent republics.

"The English East and West Indies possessions are to be divided between them, except what France takes for herself, for Spain, and for Holland.

"The Navy also to be divided, after the last mentioned powers have retaken the ships captured from them during the war, or other, in their place; agreeable to a secret article by which France has guaranteed to its allies their naval forces ante bellum.

"Under the column of Grandes Mesures: The names of the K[ing] and R[oyal] F[amily], the Princess of W[ales], and the Duke of Y[ork] excepted, those of Ministers, Nobles, Clergymen (sic), Bankers, Merchants, and even Farmers.

"Under the column of Deportation, the remainder of the English nobility, and rich proprietors. Manufacturers who

brings (sic) their industry over to France and sell there are excepted. Amongst those condemned to transportation is even Mr. F[ox]'s name with the remark:—'Faux patriot; ayant souvent insulte la Nation Francaise dans ses discours, et particulierement en 1786'. So is Lord M[oira] pour avoir porte les armes contre deux peuples combattants pour la liberte. Protecteur des emigres.

"On the list of Contributions Patriotivues are the names of Norfolk, Bedford, Bridgewater, and Marlborough, each for 400,000 guineas.

"They have lists of the members belonging to any society whatsoever. Also of patriotic officers in the Army, Navy, and Militia. But that number is small and to most of their names is added: Douteux. Truguet is to be the commander-in-chief of the naval expedition against England. Merlin has therefore sent him to push forward the Spanish Navy. But if the King of Spain do not agree to this measure he is instructed to produce a 10th of August at Madrid. Merlin has said: Before the conquest of England, a 10th of August is necessary in Spain, and an 18th Fructidor in Holland. (This last step is all fulfilled).

"The Directory of England is to consist of Paine, Tooke, Sharpe, Thelwall and Lansdown.

"Ministers—Earl, Foreign Department; Cooper, Home Department; Waitmann, Finance; Tierney, Justice; Hardy, Police; Tarletan, War; Russell, Marine; Combe, Mayor of London; Stanhope, Ambassador to Paris.

"The Scotch Directory—Muir, Sinclair, Cameron, Simple, Lauderdale a Sorbelloni.

"Ministers—Ferguson, Foreign Department; Macleod, War; Campbell, Marine.

"Irish Directory—N. Tandy, E. Fitzgerald, H. Rowan, A. O'Connor, and Raconnor or O'Colmer, (?).

"The Ministers names not filled up, but twenty-two proposed.

"Gallais is entrusted with the French plans to their full extent. He prides himself of the friendship and assistance of an opulent man not far from B[ath].

"Gallais is destined to be the first Ambassador to the English Republic].

Dropmore Papers, vol. iv. P. 69, Hist. MSS. Comm.

"April-May, 1798.

"April 1, 2.—Lewines waited yesterday on Merlin, who is president of the Directory for this trimestre, and presented him a letter of introduction from Talleyrand.

*Merlin received him with great civility and attention. Lewines pressed him, as far as he could with propriety, on the necessity of sending succours to Ireland at the earliest possible moment, especially on account of the late arrestations; and he took that occasion to impress him with a sense of the merit and services of the men for whom he interested himself so much on every account, public and personal. Merlin replied that, as to the time or place of succour, he could tell him nothing, it being the secret of the state; that, as to the danger of his friends, he was sincerely sorry for the situation of so many brave and virtuous patriots; that, however, though he could not enter into the details of the intended expedition, he would tell him thus much to comfort him: 'That France never would grant peace to England on any terms short of the independence of Ireland'. This is grand news. It is far more direct and explicit than any assurance we have yet got. Lewines made the proper acknowledgements, and then ran off to me to communicate the news. The fact is, whatever the rest of our countrymen here may think, Lewines is doing his business here fair and well, and like a man of honour. I wish others of them whom I could name, had half as good principles.

"Apropos of Lewines' private affairs. He has been now on the continent for the public business above fifteen months, at his own expense, to the amount of at least £500; during which time his colleagues at home have not thought proper to remit him one farthing; and it is now in order to raise money that he is going to Holland. . . Lewines called, a day or two before we left town, on Buonaparte, to endeavour to interest him in behalf of our unfortunate friends now in arrestation. and try whether it would be feasible to obtain a declaration from the Directory similar

* Antoine Christophe Merlin was born at Thionville on September 13th, 1762. After spending some years studying theology, he devoted himself to law and in 1788 became an avocat at the Parliament of Metz. On October 23rd, 1791, he moved and carried the institution of a Committee of Surveillance of which he became a member. He also proposed the law sequestrating the property of the emigres, and he played an important part in the emute of June 20th, 1792, and also in the revolution of the 10th of August of the same year. He was elected deputy to the National Convention, and pressed for the execution of Louis XVI. He displayed conspicuous bravery in the defence of Mainz, "threatening in defeat".* He took part in the reaction that followed the death of Robespierre, sat in the Council of Five Hundred under the Directory and at the coup d'etat of the 18th Fructidor (Sept. 4th, 1797), demanded the deportation of certain republican members. In 1798 he ceased to be a member of the Five Hundred, and was made director-generals of posts, being subsequently sent to organize the army of Italy. On the proclamation of the Consulate he retired into private life, and died in Paris on September 14th, 1833.

* Goethe: Belagerung von Mainz.

to that which they issued in the case of the patriots of the Pays de Vaud, for whose safety they made the aristocracy of Berne personally responsible. Buonaparte replied that the case was totally different: with regard to the Swiss, France was in a situation to follow up the menace by striking instantly: with England it was not so. She was a power of the first rank, and the Republic must never threaten in vain. Under these circumstances, he thought any interposition on the part of the French government in favour of the Irish patriots, might injure them materially, by inflaming still more the English government against them, and could, at the same time, do them no possible service. In this reasoning Lewines was obliged to acquiesce, and, in fact, the answer is unanswerable. . . .

"April 21 to 24.—The last Paris papers mention, that Buonaparte is decidedly set off to take the command of the expedition which is preparing in the Mediterranean. It is, I learn, to consist of three divisions, one to embark at Toulon, commanded by Buonaparte in person; another at Genoa, by Kleber; and the third, at Civita Vecchia, by Desaix. The object declared is Egypt and Syria. . .

"April 25.—William Hamilton, who married J. Russell's daughter, arrived a few days since in Paris. He was obliged to fly from London, in consequence of the arrestation of O'Connor and his party. On his way he met Lewines at Brussels, and also saw in an English paper of the 3rd, that the revolution in Ireland was commenced, having broken out in the south, and that General Abercrombie and the army were in full march to suppress it. Both he and Lewines believe it. For my part, I do not—it is, at most, some partial insurrection—and so much the worse. I wrote, however, to General Kilmaine, to request an order to join him at Paris, in case the news was true, which, however, I am sure it was not. My brother writes me word that there is a person waiting for Lewines at the Hague, who has made his escape with plans, charts, &c. . . .

"From April 27 to May 17.—We received a letter from my brother William, dated from Poonah, the 7th of January, 1797, sixteen months ago, at which time he was in health and spirits, being second in command of the infantry of the Peschwar, or chief of the Mahratta state, with appointments of five hundred rupees a month, which is about £750 sterling a year. I cannot express the pleasure which this account of his success gave us all; great as has been his good fortune, it is not superior to his merit. Six years ago he went to India a private soldier, unknown, unfriended, and unprotected; he has forced his way to a station of rank and eminence, and I have no doubt that his views and talents are extended with his elevation. The first war in India, we shall hear more of him. His letter was enclosed in one

from my mother to Mary, by which I see she and my father are in health and spirits. Two or three days after the receipt of Will's letter, we were agreeably surprised by one from poor Arthur, of whom we had no news for a long time, viz., since Mat. parted from him at Philadelphia, some time in July last, at which period he spoke of making a voyage to the West Indies, where he had been once already. His letter is dated from Hamburg, where Meyer had shown him all possible kindness and friendship. We answered it immediately, desiring him to come directly to Paris, where I judge he may arrive in about a month. Poor fellow ! he is but sixteen years of age, and what a variety of adventures has he gone through ! It is now two years and a-half since he and I parted at Philadelphia, when I sent him home in the Susannah, Captain Baird, to notify to my friends my immediate departure for France. It was a delicate commission for a boy of his age, and he seems to have acquitted himself well of it; at least, I have heard no complaint of his indiscretion. When the first arrestations took place in Ireland, in September, 1796—when my dear friend Tom Russell, Neilson, and so many others, were arrested in Belfast, those of my friends in Dublin who were in the secret, dreading the possibility of the government seizing on Arthur, and either by art or menaces, wringing it from him, fitted him out, and sent him again to America, with the consent of my father and mother, who were with reason afraid for his personal safety. In America, where he arrived after my wife and family had sailed for Europe, he met with Mat., and after some little time, embarked on board a sloop bound for the West Indies; on his return from this voyage, he again met with Mat., who was on the point of sailing for Hamburg in consequence of my instructions. At Philadelphia they parted, and what poor Arthur's adventures have been since, I know not. He is, however, safe and sound, having supported himself these two years without assistance from any body. When I saw him last, he was a fine manly boy, with a beautiful countenance. I hope and trust he will do well; if we ever come to have a navy in Ireland, he is the very stuff of which to make a Jean Bart.

"I am not superstitious, yet cannot but remark the singularity of the circumstance, that Mary, Mat., Arthur, and myself, with my family, should, after such a diversity of strange events, be all re-assembled in France on the eve of this great expedition, and that, precisely at the same time, we should have the happiness of hearing from my father and mother, and especially from Will, after a silence of above four years. It is one of the singular traits in the history of our family, and increases the confidence I feel that we shall all meet together yet, well and happy.

"May 20.—Whitley Stokes again reprehended by the Chancellor. Whitley, it seems, communicated to Sampson, who communicated to Lord Moira, a paper which he had previously transmitted to the Lord Lieutenant, and which contained the account of some atrocious enormities committed by the British troops in the south of Ireland. Far less than that would suffice to destroy him in the Chancellor's opinion, who, by-the-by, has had an eye upon him this long time; for I remember he summoned Stokes before the Secret Committee long before I left Ireland. I do not know whether to be vexed or pleased at this event as it regards Whitley. I only wish he had taken his part more decidedly; for, as it is, he is destroyed with one party, and I am by no means clear that he is saved with the other. He, like Parsons and Moira, have either their consciences too scrupulous, or their minds too little enlarged, to embrace the only line of conduct in times like ours. They must be with the people or against them, and that for the whole, or they must be content to go down without the satisfaction of serving or pleasing any party. With regard to Stokes, I know he is acting rigidly on principle; for I know he is incapable of acting otherwise; but I fear very much that his very metaphysical unbending purity, which can accommodate itself neither to men, times, nor circumstances, will always prevent his being of any service to his country, which is a thousand pities, for I know no man whose virtues and whose talents I more sincerely reverence. I see only one place fit for him, and, after all, if Ireland were independent, I believe few enlightened Irishmen would oppose his being placed there—I mean at the head of a system of national education. I hope this last specimen of Fitzgibbon's moderation may give him a little of that political energy which he wants; for I have often heard him observe himself, that nothing sharpened men's patriotism more than a reasonable quantity of insult and ill usage. He may now be a living instance, and justify his doctrine by his practice. . . .

"May 26.—I have changed my mind, and written this day a letter to General Kilmaine, acquainting him with Will's present situation in India, and offering to go thither, if the government thinks that my services can be useful, requesting secrecy and a speedy answer. I know not how this may turn out; it is a bold measure. My only difficulty is about my family; but if the Directory accepts my offer, I hardly think they will refuse to pay my wife one half of my appointments during my absence: if they do that, I will go cheerfully, notwithstanding that the age for enterprise is almost over with me. My blood is cooling fast—'my May of life is falling to the sear, the yellow leaf'.

"June, 1798.—Havre.

"June 1.—Read this morning an article in a Paris journal, which astonishes me more than I can express. It states that General Daendels has fled from the Hague, and has been proclaimed a deserter by the Dutch government. It seems orders were given to arrest him, which he avoided by flying into France, and it is supposed he is now at Paris. The true reason is said to be, his having given his opinion too unguardedly on the measures of his government. This is the whole of the article, and I confess it astonishes me most completely. Judging from my own experience. I would say that Daendels is an honest man and a good citizen, if there is one existing; and I learn by a letter from Lewines, dated May the 4th, and which is obscure in some parts, from a prudent caution, that parties run exceedingly high in Holland; so that I must conclude he is a victim to his principles. Go now and make revolutions! Daendels was obliged to fly to France ten years ago from the fury of the Orange faction; in his absence he was beheaded in effigy. In 1794, he returned triumphant with Pichegru, another memorable instance of the caprices of fortune, and was appointed to the chief command of the Batavian army. Now, in 1798, he is again obliged to fly to France, with the disgraceful epithet of deserter attached to his name, to avoid, as I conclude from circumstances, the fury of the democratic party. . . . .

"June 11.—I have been running over in my mind the list of my friends, and of the men whom, without being so intimately connected with them, I most esteem. Scarcely do I find one who is not or has not been in exile or prison, and in jeopardy of his life. To begin with Russell and Emmet, the two dearest of my friends, at this moment in prison on a capital charge. M'Nevin, J. Sweetman, my old fellow-labourers in the Catholic cause; Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur and Roger O'Connor, whom though I know less personally, I do not less esteem; Sampson, Bond, Jackson, and his son, still in prison; Robert and William Simms, the men in the world to whose friendship I am most obliged, but just discharged; Neilson, Hazlitt, M'Cracken, the same; M'Cormick, absconded; Rowan and Dr. Reynolds in America; Lewines, Tennant, Lowry, Hamilton, Teeling, Tandy, &c., and others, with whom I have little or no acquaintance, but whom I must presume to be victims of their patriotism, not to speak of my own family, in France, Germany, and elsewhere. Stokes disgraced on suspicion of virtue. It is a gloomy catalogue for a man to cast his eyes over. Of all my political connections, I see but John Keogh who has escaped, and how he has had that inconceivable good fortune, is to me a miracle.

"June 14, 16.—I mentioned to General Kilmaine that the situation of the young Irishmen now in Paris was very painful, and that I was afraid, if something were not done in their behalf, they would be reduced to great difficulties. He said he felt all that; at the same time, the conduct of many of the Irish in Paris was such as to reflect credit neither on themselves nor their country. That there was nothing to be heard of amongst them but denunciations, and if every one of them, separately, spoke truth, all the rest were rascals. At the same time, there was one thing in their which, in some degree, saved their credit—except one, named O'Finn, who appeared in the light of a mere adventurer; that Tandy had also applied for assistance, and that he (Kilmaine) believing the poor old man to be in distress, had signed a paper to the Minister at War, requesting he might be employed. I answered, that I was heartily sorry for the account he gave me of the conduct of our countrymen, which I had some reason to believe he had not exaggerated, having been denounced myself more than once, for no other offence, as I believe in my conscience, than the rank I held in the French army, which caused heart-burnings amongst them; that the misfortune was, that they came into France with their ideas mounted too high; from having had a certain degree of influence among the people at home, and finding themselves absolutely without any in France, their tempers were soured, and their ill-humour vented itself in accusations of each other. . . . .

"June 20.—To-day is my birthday. I am thirty-five years of age; more than half the career of my life is finished, and how little have I yet been able to do! Well, it has not been, at least, for want of inclination, and, I may add, of efforts. I had hopes, two years ago, that, at the period I write this, my debt to my country would have been discharged, and the fate of Ireland settled for good or evil. To-day it is more uncertain than ever. I think, however, I may safely say, I have neglected no step to which my duty called me, and in that conduct I will persist to the last. Called this morning on General Grouchy. I find him full of ardour for our business; he has read all the details, and talks of going to Paris in two or three days, to press the Directory upon that subject. His idea is to try an embarkation aboard the corvettes and privateers of Nantes; on which, he thinks, at least, 3,000 men with 20,000 muskets can be stowed, and he speaks as if he meant to apply for the command of this little armament. We talked over the last expedition. He said he had shed tears of rage and vexation fifty times since, at the recollection of the opportunity of which he had been deprived; and there was one thing which he would never pardon in himself—that he

did not seize Bouvet by the collar, and throw him overboard, the moment he attempted to raise a difficulty as to the landing. He also mentioned his intention to apply for me to be his adjutant-general, of which I am very glad, and added, that as he believed he would have the command of the fourth division of the army of England, besides his command of the cavalry, in which Nantes was included, in case the government relished his offer, he would be at hand to execute our plan, making, at the same time, a great parade at Brest and elsewhere, to divert the attention of the enemy. In short, he shows the same zeal and ardour in our cause that I had occasion to remark in him during the late expedition; and I look on it as a fortunate circumstance for me to be attached to him. From General Grouchy I went to visit the general-in-chief, Kilmaine, and mentioned to him ,that, under the circumstances, especially as there was no appearance of any event at Havre, I had thought it my duty to return near him to receive his orders. He said I did very right, but he was sorry at the same time to tell me, that he was much afraid the government would do nothing; and he read me a letter from the Minister of Marine, which he had received this very morning, mentioning that, in consequence of the great superiority of the naval force of the enemy, and difficulty of escaping from any of the ports during the fine season, the Directory were determined to adjourn the measure until a more favourable occasion.

"I see by the papers that Daendels is returned in triumph to the Hague, where he has smashed the Dutch Directory like a pipe-stalk, dissolved the government, and framed a new one, at the head of which he is himself. All this, certainly, with the approbation of the French government, and, as it appears, with that of the Dutch people also. Charles De da Croix, who was the support of the late Dutch Directory, is recalled, and General Joubert, who was of the opposite party, continued in the command of the French troops in Holland.

"If the Irish can hold out till winter, I have every hope that the French will assist them effectually. All I dread is, that they may be overpowered before that time. What a state my mind is in at this moment! In all this business I do not see one syllable about the north, which astonishes me more than I can express. Are they afraid? Have they changed their opinions? What can be the cause of their passive submission at this moment, so little suited to their former zeal and energy? I remember what Digges said to Russell and me, five or six years ago:—'If ever the south is roused, I would rather have one southern than twenty northerns'. Digges was a man of great sense and observation. He was an American, and had no local or

provincial prejudices. Was he right in his opinion? A very little time will let us see. If it should prove so, what a mortification to me, who have so long looked up with admiration to the north, and especially to Belfast! It cannot be that they have changed their principles; it must be, that circumstances render all exertions on their part, as yet, impossible".

Cæterà desunt.

The Duke of Wellington's opinion of Theobald Wolfe Tone's journals is thus referred to in Moore's diary, 15th March, 1833, in an account of a dinner at Rogers's:—"In talking of Wolfe Tone's journals, which Labouchere compared with Swift's journal to Stella (and pronounced it affected, insincere, &c.), Rogers mentioned what I was glad to hear, that the Duke of Wellington had spoken highly of it to him, and said that but few books had ever interested him so much".*

This journal shows that from December, 1797, to September, 1798, Tone and Lewines had made many and unsuccessful attempts to procure assistance from the French government. But with the expulsion of Carnot from the directory, the death of Hoche† (in September, 1797, at the age of twenty-nine, some said of consumption, others of poison), and the ascendency of Buonaparte's star, every chance of effectual assistance was lost. Grouchy and Villaret, in their different capacities, contributed to the frustration of the objects of the Brest expedition. The elements conspired against the armament fitted out at the Texel, and the same allies, the only unsubsidized allies of Great Britain, were again faithful to her interests in the last attempt of this kind in September, 1798. On the death of Hoche, the 18th of September, 1797, Buonaparte succeeded to the chief command, and the preparations for the new expedition that Hoche had left in a state of forwardness, received little encouragement from his successor.* He attributed at St. Helena to his own ignorance of the resources and population of Ireland, not only the failure of that expedition, but his own downfall. Buonaparte, moreover, was jealous of Hoche, and disposed to thwart any measure of his calculated to enhance his reputation. "But Hoche was an ardent and sincere republican; he could sacrifice his own hopes and prospects to the cause of liberty, as he nobly proved when he resigned to Daendels the

* "Moore's Memoirs", vol. vi. p. 317.

† "The loss of Hoche", says Tone's son, "was irreparable to the Irish cause".

command of the Texel expedition". The fact is, Buonaparte was a hater of republicanism, and the liberation of Ireland would have given strength to its principles in France. His policy was to foment commotion in Ireland, for the purpose of creating "a diversion"; and on his proceeding to Egypt, Tone states that it was said he had asked the Directory, "What more did they desire from the Irish ?"

Buonaparte set out for Egypt on the 20th of May, 1798; and in the beginning of July, when the rebellion in Ireland was crushed, the Directory sent to Tone to assist in the organization of a new expedition. The middle of August, the general in command, Humbert, impatient of the delays he had experienced, levied a contribution on the merchants of Rochelle, "and embarked on board a few frigates with 1,000 men, 1,000 spare muskets, 1,000 guineas, and a few pieces of artillery, and compelled the captains to set sail on the most desperate enterprise which is, perhaps, recorded in history. Three Irishmen accompanied him—Matthew Tone, Bartholomew Teeling, and Sullivan, nephew to Madgett".

September 20, 1798.—Another small expedition under General Hardy was got ready for sea, consisting of one sail of the line, eight frigates, and two smaller vessels, and a force of 3,000 men. In Hardy's squadron there were four Irishmen—T. Wolfe Tone, Thomas Corbett, John M'Guire, and W. Henry Hamilton, the brother-in-law of Thomas Russell.A number of Irish refugees, with Napper Tandy at their head, had previously embarked on board a fast-sailing boat, and landed at Rathlin Island, on the north-east coast of Ireland, where they spread some proclamations, and hearing of Humbert's defeat, escaped to Norway. Hardy's expedition met with contrary winds, and after twenty days' cruise, four of the vessels arrived on the 12th of October off Lough Swilly. In one of these, the "Hoche", 74, Tone was embarked.

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CHAPTER IV.

Buonaparte's mistaken views and information respecting Ireland. Hardy's and Humbert's Expeditions, and their results.

With the loss of Carnot in the Directory, the death of Hoche, the failure of the Dutch expedition, the departure of Buonaparte for Egypt, the increasing difficulties and embarrassments of the French Republic, died away all

Tone's expectations of any effective aid from France for Ireland. Of Buonaparte's views with respect to Ireland, we read in young Tone's narrative of the events preceding Hardy's expedition, that "to the enterprise against Ireland, the favourite object of Hoche, and to prosecute which he was ostensibly recalled, he, Buonaparte, felt a secret but strong repugnance. Though the liberation of that country might prostrate for ever the power of England, and raise the republic to the pinnacle of fortune (a circumstance for which he did not yet wish, as it would render his services needless), it offered no prospects of aggrandizement to him; it strengthened the republican cause, which he disliked; and the principles of the Irish leaders, when he investigated the business, appeared too closely allied to those of the Jacobins. Neither did he ever sufficiently appreciate the means and importance of that country; his knowledge of it, as may be seen in my father's memoirs, was slight and inaccurate. The Directory, who began to fear him, and wished to get rid of him, entered willingly into his views when he proposed to use this expedition only as a cover, and direct their real effort to the invasion of Egypt. It is asserted that he said, on the occasion, 'What more do you desire from the Irish? You see that their movements already operate a powerful diversion'. Like every selfish view, I think this was a narrow one. The two most miserable and oppressed countries in Europe always looked up to Napoleon for their liberation. He never gratified their hopes; yet, by raising Ireland, he might have crushed for ever the power of England, and by assisting Poland, placed a curb on Russia. He missed both objects, and finally, fell under the efforts of Russia and of England. And it may be observed, as a singular retribution, that an Irishman commanded the army that gave the last blow to his destinies.

"When my father was presented to him, and attached to his army as adjutant-general, he received him with cold civility, but entered into no communications. His plans were already formed. Ostensibly a great force was organized on the western coasts of France, under the name of the Army of England; but the flower of the troops were successively withdrawn and marched to the Mediterranean".* . . .

"On the 20th of May, 1798, Buonaparte had embarked from Toulon. On the 23rd, the Irish insurrection broke out. As the news of each arrest, and of each action, successively reached France, he (Tone) urged the generals and government to assist the gallant and desperate struggle of his countrymen, and pressed on them the necessity of

* "Tone's Memoirs", vol. ii. p. 514.

availing themselves of the favourable opportunity which flew so rapidly by. They began their preparations without delay; but money, arms, ammunition, and ships, all were wanting. By the close of June, the insurrection was nearly crushed, and it was not till the beginning of July that my father was called up to Paris, to consult with the Ministers of the War and Navy Departments, on the organization of a new expedition. At this period his journal closes, and the public papers, my mother's recollections, and a few private letters, are my sole documents for the remaining events.

"The plan of the new expedition was to despatch small detachments from several ports, in the hope of keeping up the insurrection and distracting the attention of the enemy until some favourable opportunity should occur for landing the main body, under General Kilmaine. General Humbert, with about 1,000 men, was quartered for this purpose at Rochelle; General Hardy, with 3,000 at Brest; and Kilmaine with 9,000 remained in reserve. This plan was judicious enough, if it had been taken up in time. But, long before the first of these expeditions was ready to sail, the insurrection was subdued in every quarter. . . .

"The indignation of the unfortunate Irish was just and extreme against that French government, which had so repeatedly promised them aid, and now appeared to desert them in their utmost need".

A miserable expedition, at the instance of Napper Tandy, was at length fitted out, of which Tone's son thus speaks:—

"The final ruin of the expedition was hurried by the precipitancy and indiscretion of a brave but ignorant and imprudent officer. This anecdote, which is not generally known, is a striking instance of the disorder, indiscipline, and disorganization which began to prevail in the French army. Humbert, a gallant soldier of fortune, but whose heart was better than his head, impatient of the delays of his government, and fired by the recitals of the Irish refugees, determined to begin the enterprise on his own responsibility, and thus oblige the Directory to second or to desert him. Towards the middle of August, calling together the merchants and magistrates of Rochelle, he forced them to advance a small sum of money and all that he wanted, on military requisition, and embarking on board a few frigates and transports, with 1,000 men, 1,000 square muskets, 1,000 guineas, and a few pieces of artillery, he compelled the captains to set sail, for the most desperate attempt which is perhaps recorded in history. Three Irishmen accompanied him, my uncle, Matthew Tone, Bartholomew Teeling, of Lisburn, and Sullivan, nephew to Madgett, whose name is often mentioned in these memoirs. On the 22nd of August they made the coast of Connaught,

and landing in the bay of Killala, immediately stormed and occupied that little town.

"Strange and desperate as was this enterprise, had it been prosecuted with the same spirit and vivacity with which it was begun, it might have succeeded, and Humbert, an obscure and uneducated soldier, have effected a revolution, and crowned his name with immortal glory. But encircled, on the 8th of September, at Ballinamuck, by an entire army, his small band, after a gallant resistance, were compelled to lay down their arms. The French were received to composition and shortly exchanged, but the Irish were slaughtered without mercy; and the cruelties afterwards exercised on the unresisting peasantry, will render the name of General Lake remembered for ages in those remote districts of Connaught. Of the Irish who had accompanied Humbert, Sullivan escaped under the disguise of a Frenchman, and Matthew Tone and Teeling were brought in irons to Dublin, tried, and executed".*

Matthew Tone came over to Ireland in the unfortunate expedition of Humbert. Theobald, in his diary, speaks of him as a young man of a more solid judgment than his brother William. He was of a reserved and retiring disposition, of a silent turn, and frequently absent in company; yet, says his brother, "he had a more enthusiastic spirit than any of us". He was "a sincere republican, and capable of sacrificing everything for his principles". Before he was twenty-five he had visited England twice or thrice, had spent twelve months in America, and as much in the West Indies. He attempted to establish himself in the business of a cotton manufacturer in Prosperous, in 1790, but was not successful, though totally free from an attachment to pleasure and amusements. In August, 1794, he crossed over to France, with the intention of entering the French service, but was thrown into prison at Dunkirk, on the suspicion of being an English spy. There he remained till May, 1795, when he was liberated by order of the Committee of Public Safety, and soon after embarked at Havre de Grace for America. When he arrived, his brother was about to quit the United States for France, and did leave that country without knowing of his arrival. Matthew remained in America till October, 1797. He had determined to settle in America, but unfortunately changed his purpose, in consequence of a letter from his brother, urging him to return to France, and holding out the prospect to him of a captaincy in a regiment of grenadiers. Theobald, in his diary for November, expresses his satisfaction at his arrival, "just in time to take a part in the expedition". He now entered the French service, and soon obtained the rank his

* "Tone's Life", vol. ii., p. 520.

brother had led him to expect. The failure of the Dutch expedition left him without active employment till preparations for that of Humbert began to be made. He accompanied Humbert to Killala, and was taken prisoner immediately after the battle of Ballinamuck. He was conveyed to Dublin, and lodged in the Provost prison in the Royal Barracks.

On the 24th of September, he was brought to trial before a court-martial, on a charge of high treason.

The first witness examined, Michael Bourke, deposed to having seen the prisoner at Castlebar. He had told witness he had quitted Ireland five years before, and on his arrival in France was taken up as an English spy, committed to prison, and confined between six and nine months; had escaped from prison, proceeded to America, and having met there Hamilton Rowan, learned from him his brother's having arrived in France; and on that information he had quitted America, and returned to France, where he remained till the expedition he embarked in sailed for Ireland. He said they had been three weeks at sea before they landed. Witness saw prisoner marshalling the French troops on Lord Lucan's lawn, and march with the French troops from Castlebar.

Thomas Armstrong, of the Yeomanry Cavalry, deposed to his having met the prisoner on the road on the 8th of September (the day of the battle of Ballinamuck), as he (witness) and two other yeomen were returning home. Prisoner said, on being questioned by them, that he was coming from Killala; upon which they took him into custody. He acknowledged that he had been among the rebels, and held a captain's commission in the French service. The prisoner was disguised like a peasant, and acknowledged that he had thrown away his French uniform, together with his sword and pistols.

The prosecution being closed, and the prisoner called for his defence, prayed for the indulgence of the court until the Wednesday following, to prepare his defence, which was granted. At the commencement of the proceedings he had read a paper to the court, calling in question the competency of the general court-martial to try him. His objections were overruled by the court. He admitted that he was a natural born subject of this realm.

Wednesday, September 29.—The court sat at half-past eleven, shortly after which, Matthew Tone was brought forward. He requested the court would examine one witness whom he had to produce, and to have the questions asked him which were written on a paper he handed to the president.

The court agreed, when the prisoner's aged father, Mr. Peter Tone, was sworn, and interrogated according to the purport of the queries contained in the paper.

The substance of the old man's evidence was, that he had reared the prisoner from his childhood to the age of manhood, and always found him to act as became a dutiful, sober, and affectionate son. He was now about twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age, but having six years ago failed in his business, he was compelled to go abroad in hopes of bettering his fortune; he never knew him to belong to any political society, and solemnly averred that he did not think it possible he could belong to any society without his knowledge.

"The prisoner now proceeded to read his defence. After returning thanks to the court for their impartiality and candour during his trial, he observed that necessity, not choice, obliged him to quit his native country and go to France, at a period when no declaration of war had taken place; that he was there arrested as an English spy, and thrown into a loathsome prison, where he remained for several months, when, having found means to effect his escape, he embarked for America, where he continued for some time; but being unable to go into business there for want of assistance, or procure an employment, and having a sister married to a merchant in Hamburg, he set off for that city. After several fruitless efforts to obtain independence, he began to feel his situation extremely irksome, inasmuch as he was a burden on those whom it was his wish and duty to assist; he therefore embraced an offer which was made to him of entering into the French service; and no circumstance, he most solemnly declared, induced him to do so but absolute necessity. After which, being ordered to the expedition to Ireland, he was obliged, consistent with the commission he held, consistent with subordination, and that amenability which was due to his superior officers, to embark. 'And here permit me to ask', said Mr. Tone, 'was the conduct of France to me, on my landing, consistent with that which she usually bestows on persons who come on errands to her of a treasonable nature ? No ! My severe confinement is a demonstrative proof that I did not arrive there as an exile for sedition or treason from my own country. France has hitherto treated all such persons with cordiality, received them with open arms, and rapidly promoted them; but I was an humble individual, unknown in the country, with no recommendation from any man or society of men whose views were inimical to the constitution of this country, because I was unconnected with such men. I was not even consulted in any extraordinary manner on the expedition, though from my knowledge of the two languages such

might have been expected. I therefore had no alternative between embarking, and death and dishonour.

" ' As to the circumstance of my having been found in the garb of a peasant, I will explain it. From the moment of my landing in this country till I was taken, my every endeavour was used to restrain the rebels from acts of revenge and plunder, which they were prone to, and which I have frequently execrated. This conduct made me inimical to them; I therefore embraced the first opportunity after the battle of Ballinamuck to change my clothes in order to avoid them, determined on giving myself up to the next magistrate. Being met, however, by a party of the yeomanry, I instantly made them acquainted with my name, situation, intention, &c.'

"Mr. Tone concluded his defence with expressions of reliance on the impartiality of the court, and requested they would be pleased to forward his defence to his Excellency, with the minutes of the proceedings. This the president informed him should be done as a matter of course".*

The following letter was written by him to the agent who conducted his defence, the 28th of September, the day previous to his execution:—

" Dear Sir,

"As I know from experience that suspense is the worst of all states, I hasten to relieve my friends from it. The business is determined on, and to-morrow is the day fixed. I request that no friend may come near me. Sorrow is contagious; and I would not willingly betray any weakness on the occasion.

" Accept a thousand thanks for the interest you have taken in my affairs. Ferewell. "M. TONE".

His friends, however, did come to him. His poor old father, accompanied by William Dunbavin, came to the Provost, and was permitted to see him. The old man seemed stupefied with grief: it was some time before he could articulate a sound or collect his thoughts. Matthew was pacing his cell, apparently unmoved and unconcerned, except on his father's account. The father said at length to him: " There is no hope, Matthew. I have been to the Castle, and they would not listen to me". The son's reply was made in a firm tone, and with perfect calmness and composure: " I supposed, father, that nothing could be done. I have but a short time to live", he added, "and I wish to be left alone". He then embraced his father, shook hands with Dunbavin, and he was left alone to prepare for death.

On the 29th of September he was executed on Arbour Hill, and on his way to the place of execution he was

* "Dublin Magazine", October, 1798.

treated with unnecessary harshness and unfeeling conduct on the part of the "ministers of justice" who officiated on that occasion. The object failed, for their brutality did not in the slightest degree disconcert him. He met his fate with the decent solemnity and the fortitude, devoid of all affectation of indifference, of a brave and good man. His body was given up to his friends, conveyed to the house of William Dunbavin, and was interred in Bodenstown.

[Names of the principal French officers taken at the battle of Ballinamuck, September 8th, 1798.

Humbert, general en chef.
Sarazin, general de division.
Fontaine, general de brigade.
Laserure, chef de brigade, attache a l'etat-major.
Dufour, chef de brigade, attache a l'etat-major.
Anulty, chef de battalion.
Demanche, chef de battalion.
Toussaint, chef de battalion.
Babin, chef de battalion.
Silberman, chef de battalion.
Menon, commissaire-ordonnateur.
Brillier, commissaire de guerre.
Thebault, payeur.
Puton, aide de camp.
Tramis, aide de camp.
Moreau, capitaine vaguemestre general.
Ardouin, chef de brigade.
Serve, chef de battalion.
Stais, chef de battalion.
Marchand, chef de battalion.
Brand, officer de sante.
Massonet, officer de sante.

(Record Office, Paris).]

[The Marquis of Buckingham to Lord Grenville. September 29th, 1798, (Dublin). . . . "I enclose a copy of a document taken from Tone's pocket". . . . **Enclosure**—M. Tone to ——— Donegal Bay, Fructidor 5. "The day I embarked at Rochelle I wrote to you; in that letter I gave you an account of our force, but as it might have miscarried, I shall repeat its contents. We are nine hundred infantry and about one hundred **chasseurs** and **cannonniers**, with twenty or thirty officers a la suite. We have, besides three field pieces, six thousand stand of arms, and a very adequate quantity of ammunition. I should also mention a large quantity of helmets and odd clothing of various colours which the general found in the magazine at Rochelle. Pat will look droll in a helmet without any corresponding article of dress. To come to our actual

situation, yesterday morning we arrived at the mouth of the bay, after a passage of thirteen days, without seeing anything. We stood up towards Killybegs Harbour with a light breeze, and got within two hours sail of our landing place, when the wind died away. This is damned unlucky, as it has deprived us of the advantage of surprise. The wind springing up contrary in the evening, we stood right across the bay to the County of Mayo side, where Killala, I believe, affords a place proper to debark. Night, and the want of a guide obliged us to anchor in the middle of the bay. This morning we are under way again, and endeavouring to get into Killala, the wind not being very good. I refer you to the map where you will see that we are in sight, both of Killybegs and Killala bays, without the power of entering either. Pause here my friend, and pay a compliment to my patience, which suffers me to write in such a situation. You cannot expect coherency; we are surrounded on all sides by very high mountains; if there is an aristocrat within ten leagues of us he is with his glass on the top of some hill watching our motions, and sending expresses in every direction. These are pleasant speculations. I hope the rogues won't have the wit to destroy the fishing boats round the bay, for we are in great need of some to help us to debark. We have not as yet seen a single boat, and be damned to them. **On dit** that we shall be in Killala in a couple of hours; our grenadiers will debark in our own boats, and if there be any fishermen, the rascals shall be made useful. I have no more to add. You shall have a line from me written on the back of my hat; I have seen a print of Buonaparte in that attitude.

"One o'clock in the afternoon.

"I ask pardon of the gods for having repined. We are close in with Killala, and have taken a little brig, a thing absolutely necessary as our frigates are two large to run close in. We have also some fishing boats. The pilot who is **up**, gives us the best intelligence in the world. There are scarcely any troops to oppose us, and Jemmy Plunkett is at the head of the insurgents who are up in the County Roscommon. We have also taken a lieutenant of the Prince of Wales' regiment of Fencibles, going from Sligo to Killala to take command of, or rather join a company of infantry there, with his servant; and a gentleman of Sligo with him. A yeoman, though I believe an aristocrat, offered to lay a guinea that if we please, we will be masters of Sligo to-morrow without firing a shot at us. God bless you. My postscrip shall be dated from Killala. **En attendant**, I apprize you that we hear nothing of any other squadron having arrived. Burke considers this letter as from himself.

"Killala, Fructidor 6.

"Yesterday evening we landed and drove sixty regulars

before us like sheep. A few of our grenadiers only were engaged. We killed two and made a dozen prisoners. The people will join us in myriads; they throw themselves on their knees as we pass along and extend their arms for our success. We will be masters of Connaught in a few days. **Erin go bragh".**

Hist. MSS. Comm. Dropmore Papers, vol. iv, pp. 329, 330.

There is a copy of this letter preserved among the Sirr Papers in Trinity College, Dublin.*

PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY GENERAL HUMBERT TO THE IRISH PEOPLE.

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, Union.

" Irishmen !

" You have not forgotten Bantry Bay. You know the efforts France made to assist you. You have always had her affection, and her desire to establish your independence has never wavered.

" After many fruitless endeavours to help you, the French are in your midst. They come to encourage you, to share your dangers, to join their arms with yours, and mingle their blood with yours in the sacred cause of liberty.

" Brave Irishmen, your cause is ours. Like you we abhor a government avaricious, cruel, and despotic. Like you we regard as inviolable the right of nations to freedom. Like you we are persuaded that the peace of the world will ever be troubled so long as there exists an English ministry to barter with impunity the labour, and blood of the people.

" Have we not been the pretext for the treatment meted out to you by the cabinet of St. James ? The interest which you have so cordially shown in the great happenings of our Revolution, has it not been imputed to you as a crime ? Have you not endured constantly, suffering and death because they regarded you as our friends ? Let us then unite and march forward to glory.

" We guarantee the most rigid respect for your property, your laws, and your faith. Be free, be the masters of your country. We seek no other conquest than that of your liberty, no other victory than yours.

" The moment to break your fetters has arrived. Our victorious soldiers are now marching to the ends of the earth in order to completely destroy the power and tyranny of our enemy. On all sides the terrible Colossus crumbles into dust. Is there an Irishman so vile as not to be concerned in the welfare of his land ? If there be such a

* See also " The Letters of Wolfe Tone", edited by Bulmer Hobson. Dublin, Martin Lester.

one, banish him from the fatherland that he deceives, and let his property become the reward of the noble men who fight and die.

"Irishmen, recall the latest defeats that France has inflicted on your enemy. Remember Hondschoote, Toulon, Quiberon, and Ostend. Remember America who has been free from the day she wished to be so.

"The struggle between you and your oppressors cannot last for long.

"Union, liberty, The Irish Republic. Such is our watch-word. Let us march. Our hearts are devoted to you, our glory is in your welfare.

"Health and Fraternity,

"HUMBERT, General".]

Guillon: La France et l'Irlande pendant la revolution p. 374.*

There is a copy of another proclamation by Humbert in the Castlereagh Correspondence, vol. 1. Ed.

Young Tone, in reference to the failure of Humbert's expedition, observes:—

"The news of Humbert's attempt, as may well be imagined, threw the Directory into the greatest perplexity. They instantly determined, however, to hurry all their preparations, and send off at least the division of General Hardy to second his efforts as soon as possible. The report of his first advantages, which shortly reached them augmented their ardour and accelerated their movements. But such was the state of the French navy and arsenals, that it was not until the 20th of September, 1798, that this small expedition, consisting of one sail of the line and eight frigates, under Commodore Bompart, and 3,000 men, under General Hardy, was ready for sailing. The news of Humbert's defeat had not yet reached France.

"Paris was then crowded with Irish emigrants eager for action. The mass of the United Irishmen embarked in a small and fast sailing boat, with Napper Tandy at their head. They reached, on the 16th of September, the Isle of Rathlin, on the north-west coast of Ireland, where they heard of Humbert's disaster. They merely spread some proclamations, and escaped to Norway. Three Irishmen only accompanied my father in Hardy's flotilla; he alone was embarked in the admiral's vessel, the 'Hoche'; the others were on board the frigates. These were Mr. T. Corbett and MacGuire, two brave officers, who have since

* The Library of Trinity College, Dublin, possesses a number of MSS. entitled—"Reports of Courts Martial". These papers contain an incomplete copy of Humbert's despatch describing his landing, and give a very vivid account of the early days of his campaign in Ireland. See also Hobson's "Letters of Wolfe Tone". Ed.

died in the French service, and a third gentleman, connected by marriage with his friend Russell, who is yet living, and whose name it would, therefore, be improper in me to mention". [Hamilton.]

"In 'Curran's Life', by his son, I find an anecdote mentioned, which must have been derived from the authority of this gentleman. It is stated that, on the night previous to the sailing of the expedition, a question rose amongst the United Irishmen engaged in it, whether, in case of their falling into the enemy's hands, they should suffer themselves to be put to death, according to the sentence of the law, or anticipate their fate by their own hands; that T. W. Tone maintained, with his usual eloquence and animation, that in no point of view in which he had ever considered suicide, he could hold it to be justifiable; that one of the company suggested that, from political considerations, it would be better not to relieve, by any act of self-murder, the Irish government from the discredit in which numerous executions would involve it—an idea which Mr. Tone highly approved. This anecdote is substantially correct, but the gentleman did not understand my father.

"At the period of this expedition he was hopeless of its success, and in the deepest despondency at the prospect of Irish affairs. Such was the wretched indiscretion of the government, that before his departure he read himself in the 'Bien Informe', a Paris newspaper, a detailed account of the whole armament, where his own name was mentioned in full letters, with the circumstance of his being embarked on board the 'Hoche'. There was, therefore, no hope of secrecy. He had all along deprecated the idea of those attempts on a small scale. But he had also declared repeatedly that, if the government sent only a corporal's guard, he felt it his duty to go along with them. He saw no chance of Kilmaine's large expedition being ready in any space of time, and therefore determined to accompany Hardy. His resolution was, however, deliberately and inflexibly taken, in case he fell into the hands of the enemy, never to suffer the indignity of a public execution. It was at dinner, in our own house, and in my mother's presence, a little before leaving Paris, that the gentleman above mentioned proposed that the Irish should leave to the government all the shame and odium of their execution. The idea struck him as ludicrous, and he applauded it highly. 'My dear friend', he said, 'say nothing more; you never spoke better in your life'. And after the gentleman's departure he laughed very heartily at his idea of shaming the Irish government by allowing himself to be hanged; adding, that he did not at all understand people mooting the point, whether they should or should not choose their own deaths, or consulting on such an occasion; that he

would never advise others, but that, 'please God, they should never have his poor bones to pick'.—Vide Win-Jenkins.

"At length, about the 20th of September, 1798, that fatal expedition set sail from the Baye de Camaret. It consisted of the 'Hoche', 74; 'Loire', 'Resolue', 'Bellone', 'Coquille', 'Embuscade', 'Immortalite', 'Romaine', and 'Semillante', frigates; and 'Biche', schooner and aviso. To avoid the British fleets, Bompart, an excellent seaman, took a large sweep to the westward, and then to the north-east, in order to bear down on the northern coast of Ireland from the quarter whence a French force would be least expected. He met, however, with contrary winds, and it appears that his flotilla was scattered; for, on the 10th of October, after twenty days' cruise, he arrived off the entry of Loch Swilly, with the 'Hoche', the 'Loire', the 'Resolue', and the 'Biche'. He was instantly signalled; and, on the break of day next morning, 11th October, before he could enter the bay or land his troops, he perceived the squadron of Sir John Borlase Warren, consisting of six sail of the line, one razee of sixty guns, and two frigates, bearing down upon him. There was no chance of escape for the large and heavy men of war. Bompart gave instant signals to the frigates and schooner to retreat through shallow water, and prepared alone to honour the flag of his country and liberty by a desperate but hopeless defence. At that moment, a boat came from the 'Biche' for his last orders. That ship had the best chance to get off. The French officers all supplicated my father to embark on board of her. 'Our contest is hopeless', they observed; 'we will be prisoners of war, but what will become of you?' 'Shall it be said', replied he, 'that I fled, whilst the French were fighting the battles of my country?' He refused their offers, and determined to stand or fall with the ship. The 'Biche' accomplished her escape, and I see it mentioned in late publications, that other Irishmen availed themselves of that occasion. This fact is incorrect, not one of them would have done so, and besides, my father was the only Irishman on board the 'Hoche'.

"The British admiral despatched two men of war, the 'Razee', and a frigate, after the 'Loire' and 'Resolue', and the 'Hoche' was soon surrounded by four sail of the line and a frigate, and began one of the most obstinate and desperate engagements which have ever been fought on the ocean. During six hours she sustained the whole fire of the fleet, till her masts and rigging were swept away, her scuppers flowed with blood, her wounded filled the cock-pit, her shattered ribs yawned at each new stroke, and let in five feet of water in the hold, her rudder was carried off, and she floated a dismantled wreck on the waters; her sails

and cordage hung in shreds, nor could she reply with a single gun from her dismounted batteries, to the unabating cannonade of the enemy. At length she struck. The 'Resolue' and 'Loire' were soon reached by the English fleet; the former was in a sinking condition; she made, however, an honourable defence; the 'Loire' sustained three attacks, drove off the English frigates, and had almost effected her escape; at length, engaged by the 'Anson', razee of sixty guns, she struck after an action of three hours, entirely dismasted. Of the other frigates, pursued in all directions, the 'Bellone', 'Immortalite', 'Coquille', and 'Embuscade' were taken, and the 'Romaine' and 'Semillante'. through a thousand dangers, reached separate ports in France.

"During the action, my father commanded one of the batteries, and, according to the report of the officers who returned to France, fought with the utmost desperation, and as if he was courting death. When the ship struck, confounded with the other officers, he was not recognized for some time; for he had completely acquired the language and appearance of a Frenchman. The two fleets were dispersed in every direction, nor was it till some days later that the 'Hoche' was brought into Lough Swilly, and the prisoners landed and marched to Letterkenny. Yet rumours of his being on board must have been circulated, for the fact was public at Paris. But it was thought he had been killed in the action, and I am willing to believe that the British officers, respecting the valour of a fallen enemy, were not earnest in investigating the point. It was at length a gentleman, well-known in the County Derry as a leader of the Orange party, and one of the chief magistrates in that neighbourhood, Sir George Hill, who had been his fellow-student in Trinity College, and knew his person, who undertook the task of discovering him. It is known that in Spain, grandees and noblemen of the first rank pride themselves in the functions of familiars, spies, and informers of the Holy Inquisition: it remained for Ireland to offer a similar example. The French officers were invited to breakfast with the Earl of Cavan, who commanded in that district; my father sat undistinguished amongst them, when Sir George Hill entered the room, followed by police constables. Looking narrowly at the company, he singled out the object of his search, and stepping up to him, said, 'Mr. Tone, I am very happy to see you'. Instantly rising with the utmost composure, and disdaining all useless attempts at concealment, my father replied, 'Sir George, I am happy to see you; how are Lady Hill and your family?' Beckoned into the next room by the police officers, an unexpected indignity awaited him. It was filled with military, and one General Lavau, who commanded them, ordered him to be

ironed, declaring that, as on leaving Ireland to enter the French service, he had not renounced his oath of allegiance, he remained a subject of Britain, and should be punished as a traitor. Seized with a momentary burst of indignation at such unworthy treatment and cowardly cruelty to a prisoner of war, he flung of his uniform, and cried, 'These fetters shall never degrade the revered insignia of the free nation which I have served'. Resuming then his usual calm, he offered his limbs to the irons, and when they were fixed, he exclaimed, 'for the cause which I have embraced, I feel prouder to wear these chains, than if I were decorated with the star and garter of England'. The friends of Lord Cavan have asserted that this extreme, and I will add, unmanly and ungenerous severity, was provoked by his outrageous behaviour, when he found that he was not to have the privileges of a prisoner of war. This supposition is not only contradicted by the whole tenor of his character, and his subsequent deportment, but no other instances of it have ever been specified, than those noble replies to the taunts of General Lavau. Of the latter, I know nothing but these anecdotes, recorded in the papers of the day. If, as his name seems to indicate, he was a French emigrant, the coincidence was curious, and his conduct the less excusable.

"Another version of this story, which I have seen for the first time in the 'London New Monthly Magazine', states that Mr. Tone was recognized by, or, according to another account, had the imprudence to make himself known to, an old acquaintance at Lord Cavan's table, who speedily informed his lordship of the guest who sat at his board. The first circumstantial account is the one which reached us in France; but, in my opinion, the difference between the two stories is very trifling. It regards only the fashion in which Sir George Hill gave his information".*

Sir George Fitzgerald Hill, Bart., of Broke Hall, County Londonderry, in 1839, died in the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Trinidad. He was the eldest son of Sir Hugh Hill, Bart., who represented the city of Londonderry from 1768 to his death in 1775. Sir George F. Hill was born in 1763. He entered Trinity College, and took his degree of M. A. there, and was called to the bar. In 1791 he was returned to Parliament for the borough of Coleraine, which he represented till 1795, when he was returned for Londonderry city. Sir George, from the outset of his career, had an eye to office. Before the meeting of Parliament he managed to obtain the lucrative office of Clerk of the Irish House of Commons, and vacated his seat accordingly. In

* "Life of T. W. Tone", by his son, vol. ii., p. 525, Washington edition, 1826.

1801 he again stood for Londonderry, and was returned to the English Parliament. He represented that city for thirty years. In 1806 he was appointed a Lord of the Treasury during the Duke of Richmond's administration. In 1817 he was made Vice-Treasurer of Ireland and a British Privy Councillor. In November, 1830, he was appointed Governor of St. Vincent's in the West Indies, and afterwards removed to Trinidad in 1833, where he filled the office of Lieutenant-Governor, and died the 8th of March, 1839, aged seventy-five years.

Sir George, in conjunction with his brother, Romley Hill, on the downfall of the Volunteer institution, organized a yeomanry battalion of cavalry and infantry of about 500 men, for active service against the United Irishmen, long before the rebellion, when the sustainment of the supremacy of the law became a password with the Orangemen of the North. Sir George was made a colonel of the Londonderry militia, captain commandant of the Londonderry yeomanry, and eventually recorder of Derry. The services of the man who is said to have discovered his friend and fellow-student, the unfortunate Theobald Wolfe Tone, among the French prisoners, and had that friend and fellow-student captured, could not be too highly rewarded.

Sir George married in October, 1788, Jane, third daughter of the Right Honourable George Beresford, brother to George, first Marquis of Waterford, but had no issue. He was succeeded by Sir Marcus Hill.

Perhaps the following items on account of disbursements of moneys of the state for secret services, which will be found in another portion of this work, may throw a little light on the proceedings connected with the alleged discovery of Tone by an old college friend and intimate acquaintance, bearing in mind that the date of Tone's discovery and arrest was the beginning of November, 1798, and that of some of the secret services of Sir George Hill, so far back as the 11th of September, 1797:—

From Mr. Secretary Cooke's account. September 11, 1797—Sir G. F. Hill, £100.

April 11, 1798—Sir George Hill, for a man going to England, £11 7s. 6d.

October 22, 1799—Sir G. F. Hill, for M'Fillan, Murphy, Honiton, and Birch,*£460.

The following is the English official account of the defeat of the French squadron on the 12th of October, and the capture of four of the vessels:—

* Birch was an inn keeper of Derry, of some notoriety in his day. R. R. M.

"Extract of a letter received this morning from Sir J. Borlase Warren to Lord Viscount Castlereagh, dated from His Majesty's ship "The Canada", in Lough Swilly, the 16th instant.

"Dublin Castle, Oct. 18, 1798.

"My Lord,

"I take the liberty of communicating to you, for the information of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, that I fell in with the enemy's squadron on the 12th instant, the Rosses bearing S.S.W., five leagues, and after an action which continued most part of the day, four of their ships struck their colours.

"I believe a brig, with Napper Tandy on board, was in company, as she left the French at the commencement of the business. The enemy's ships had numbers of troops, arms, stores, and ammunition; and large quantities of papers were torn and thrown overboard after they had struck.

"I am of opinion that few of the frigates which escaped will arrive in France, as they had received much damage in their masks and rigging; and from the violent gales that followed the next day, they must be in a crippled state, and may, in all probability, be picked up by some of the squadrons on the coast of France, or by Admiral Kingsmill's cruisers. They had thrown everything overboard—boats, spars, arm-chests, &c.

"I left the prizes with the 'Robuste', 'Magnanime', 'Ethalion', and 'Amelia'. The 'Hoche', of eighty-four guns was one of the ships taken.

"I am, &c."

It is right, however, to mention, that the base act, of which Sir George Hill is accused, has been attributed by others to a Roman Catholic gentleman, whose relative had been a short time before executed at Killala. Tone was no sooner recognized than he was taken into an adjoining room and fettered, as he states, by the orders of Lord Cavan; and thus fettered, he was conveyed on horseback from Letterkenny to Derry under an escort of dragoons.

The following particulars of Tone's capture are taken from the Irish Monthly Register of the "Dublin Magazine" of November, 1798:—

"The 'Hoche' was brought into Derry, the 2nd of November, 1798, on board of which was that unfortunate gentleman, Theobald Wolfe Tone, Esq. He was conducted

to the jail of Derry, and by order of Lord Cavan put in irons. The following is a letter written by him to his lordship on the occasion, with Lord Cavan's answer:—

"'Derry Prison, 12 Brumaire, an. 6,
(3rd Nov. 1798), N.S.

"'My lord,

"'On my arrival here, Major Chester informed me that his orders from your lordship—in consequence, as I presume, of the directions of government—were, that I should be put in irons. I take it for granted, those orders were issued in ignorance of the rank I have the honour to hold in the armies of the French Republic. I am, in consequence, to apprise your lordship, that I am breveted as chef de brigade in the infantry since the 1st Messidor, an. 4; that I have been promoted to the rank of adjutant-general the 2nd Nivose, an. 6; and finally, that I have served as such, attached to General Hardy, since the 3rd Thermidor, an. 6, by virtue of the orders of the Minister at War. Major Chester, to whom I have shown my commission can satisfy your lordship as to the fact, and General Hardy will ascertain the authenticity of the documents.

"'Under these circumstances, I address myself to your lordship as a man of honour and a soldier; and I do protest, in the most precise and strongest manner, against the indignity intended against the honour of the French army in my person; and I claim the rights and privileges of a prisoner of war, agreeably to my rank and situation in an army, not less to be respected in all points than any other which exists in Europe.

"'From the situation your lordship holds under your government, I must presume you have discretionary power to act according to circumstances; and I cannot for a moment doubt, but what I have now explained to your lordship will induce you to give immediate orders that the honour of the French nation and the French army be respected in my person, and, of course, I shall suffer no coercion other than in common with the rest of my brave comrades, whom the fortune of war has for a moment deprived of liberty.

"'I am, my Lord, with great respect, your lordship's most obedient servant.

"'T. W. TONE,
"'dit SMITH, Adjutant-General'".

WILLIAM THEOBALD WOLFE TONE. Eldest son of Theobald Wolfe Tone. Born in Dublin 1791. Cadet School of Cavalry, Paris, 1810. Sub-Lieutenant in the French Army, 1813. Retired to America in 1816, and was appointed Lieutenant of Artillery. Tone married Catherine, daughter of William Sampson, in 1825. He died in October, 1828, and was interred at Long Island. Before his death he published his father's journals, and political writings to which he appended an account of Tone's last days.

"Answer.

"'Buncrana, November 8, 1798.

"'Sir,—

"'I have received your letter of this date from Derry jail, in which you inform me, that you consider your being ordered into irons is an insult and degradation to the rank you hold in the army of the French Republic; and that you protest in the most precise and strongest manner against such indignity. Had you been a native of France, or of any other country not belonging to the British Empire, indisputably it would be so; but the motive that directed me to give the order I did this morning for your being put in irons, was, that I looked upon you (and you have proved yourself) a traitor and rebel to your sovereign and native country, and as such you shall be treated by me.

"'I shall enforce the order I gave this morning, and I lament, as a man, the fate that awaits you. Every indulgence shall be granted you by me individually that is not inconsistent with my public duty.

"'I am, Sir, your humble servant,

"'CAVAN, Major-Gen.'"

On Tone's arrival in Dublin he was imprisoned in the Provost in the Royal Barrack, one of the bastiles of the capital, then under the charge of the notorious Major Sandys. Tone was found by the few friends who were permitted to visit him previous to trial, in the same dungeon in which his brother had been confined a few days previously, and from which he had been led to execution. The most accurate account of the proceedings before the court-martial, though not the most extended, is to be found in "The Dublin Magazine" for November, 1798. The editor of that periodical was a covert friend of many of the parties involved in the troubles of that period, and was evidently furnished by their relatives and associates with details which could only be obtained from them. The version of the speech delivered by Tone on his trial, which is given in the "Dublin Monthly", is not so polished as that which we find in the life of Tone by his son, and in some particulars differs from that which is given in the life of Sir John Moore. But altogether it bears the appearance of a correct report of such portions of Tone's prepared address as he was permitted to speak.

"Trial of Theobald Wolfe Tone, Esq.

"Dublin Barrack,
"Saturday, November 10, 1798.

"Major-General Loftus, president. Colonel Vandeleur, Lieutenant-Colonel Daly, Major Armstrong, Colonel Wolfe, Colonel Tyler, Captain Corry.

"Mr. Tone was brought into court under a guard, from the Provost prison, where he had been confined. He was dressed in the French uniform—a large cocked hat, with broad gold lace and the tri-coloured cockade; a blue uniform coat, with gold embroidered collar, and two large gold epaulets; blue pantaloons, with gold-laced garters at the knees; and short boots, bound at the tops with gold lace.

"At first he seemed agitated, and called for a glass of water: he was afterwards composed and collected.

"The charges having been read by the judge-advocate, implicating him as a natural born subject of our lord the King, having traitorously entered into the services of the French republic, &c., &c., the prisoner was called to plead whether guilty or not guilty.

"Mr. Tone, bowing to the court, said, he presumed this was the time in which he might read to the court the statements of a few points, which he had committed to paper for his defence on the occasion of his trial.

"He was asked in the first instance, if he would plead to the charge against him, guilty or not guilty. He answered, that it was not his wish to avail himself of a subterfuge, or to give the court any unnecessary trouble; he was ready to admit the whole of the charge exhibited against him.

"He was then asked, what was his object in his reading the paper in his hand? Was it anything he wished to offer in his defence? Was it anything which his own good sense must tell him might be improper for the court to hear? Mr. Tone answered, the paper was certainly drawn up with a view to vindication, though possibly it could not be considered as a defence against the accusation on which he was now called to trial. He could not say whether it was a kind of defence which the court might choose to hear. He had endeavoured, in the formation of it, to be as collected and moderate as his feelings could possibly admit; and if the court would do him the honour of permitting him to read the paper, its contents would best suggest how far it was admissible.

"Court—'Sir, before you read that paper, you will do well to consider whether it contains any matter irrelevant to the question now at issue, or anything which your own good sense may suggest the court ought not to hear'.

"Prisoner—'In what I am about to read I trust there is nothing irrelevant to my situation, nor anything but what I should hope the court will not think improper to hear. I have endeavoured to be as collected and moderate as possible, and I should not wish to offer any language offensive to the court'.

"Judge Advocate—'Is there anything in the paper which you wish should go before his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant?'

"Prisoner—'I have no objection that it should'.

"A member—'You have already pleaded guilty to the charge of having acted traitorously. Do you mean by anything contained in that paper to retract that plea?'

"Prisoner—'Certainly I have admitted the charge, and consequently the appellation by which I am technically described'.

"President—'It is not the wish of the court, Sir, to deny you any indulgence which, consistently with their duty, they can grant, but they must reserve to themselves the power of stopping you, if you shall utter anything irrelevant to the case before them, or unfitting for them to listen to'.

"Prisoner—'The court, no doubt, will reserve to itself that discretionary power, but I repeat that I have endeavoured to be as moderate as possible, and if any of my expressions should happen to appear objectionable, I shall be willing to substitute others less so'.

"Here the president having given permission, the prisoner read the paper, which was as follows:—

"'Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Court,

"'It is not my intention to give this court any trouble respecting the purport of aught that has been alleged against me. My admission of the charge prevents a prolongation of those forms, which could not be more irksome to you, than they would be to me. What I have done has been purely from principle and the fullest conviction of its rectitude. I wish not for mercy; I hope I am not an object of pity. I anticipate the consequence of my caption, and am prepared for the event. The favourite object of my life has been the independence of my country, and to that object have I made every sacrifice.

"'Placed in honourable poverty, the love of liberty was implanted by nature, and confirmed by education, in my heart. No seduction, no terror could banish it from thence; and seduction and terror have not been spared against me. To impart the inestimable blessings of liberty to the land of my birth, I have braved difficulties, bondage, and death.

"'For it, I became an exile—I submitted to poverty—I left the bosom of my family, my wife, my children, and all that rendered life desirable.

"'After an honourable combat, in which I strove to emulate the bravery of my gallant comrades, I was forced to submit, and was dragged in irons through the country, not so much to my disgrace, as that of the person by whom such ungenerous and unmanly orders were issued.

"'Whatever I have written and said on the fate of Ireland, I here reiterate.

"'The connection with England I have ever considered as the bane of the prosperity and happiness of Ireland, and I have done everything in my power to break it, and to raise three millions of my countrymen to the rank of citizens'.

"Here he was stopped by the court, and Mr. President said: 'Mr. Tone, it is impossible we can listen to this'.

"Judge Advocate 'If what follows be of such a nature as you described to me yesterday, I really am of opinion, Mr. Tone, it must operate to your prejudice; you will therfore do well to consider before you read it'.

"On the further advice which the court and the Judge-Advocate urged, the prisoner consented to cancel the most exceptional part of what he read, and also some subsequent matter, which he said was only the expression of his thanks to the Roman Catholics, a body whom he had once, he said, the honour of serving. He then desired to know if he might proceed.

"President—'It is a principle by which we shall be scrupulously ruled, to avoid most carefully everything not immediately relative to your case and the ends of justice; and it is but fitting that we expect you to confine yourself simply to the charge made against you; a reverse conduct can tend to no good purpose'.

"Prisoner—'I have said nothing, nor do I mean to say anything, that has not been already uttered with respect to me in the Houses of Parliament, where my name has been so often quoted'.

"He was then suffered to proceed.

"'Having considered the resources of the country, and being convinced they were too weak to effect her independence without assistance, I sought that assistance in France; and without any intrigue, but asking in the open honesty of my principles, and that love of freedom which has ever distinguished me, I have been adopted by the French Republic, and in the active discharge of my duty as a soldier, acquired what is to me invaluable, and what I will never relinquish but with my existence—the friendship of some of the best characters in France, and the attachment and esteem of my brave companions in arms.

"'It is not the sentence of any court that can weaken the force or alter the nature of those principles on which I have acted, and the truth of which will outlive those ephemeral

prejudices that may rule for the day. To her I leave the vindication of my fame, and I trust posterity will not listen to her advocacy without being instructed.

"'It is now more than four years since persecution drove me from this country, and I need hardly say that personally I cannot be involved in anything that has happened during my absence. In my efforts to accomplish the freedom of my country, I never have had recourse to any other than open and manly war. There have been atrocities committed on both sides, which I lament; and if the generous spirit which I had assisted to raise in the breasts of Irishmen, has degenerated into a system of assassination, I believe all who have had any knowledge of me, from my infancy to the present hour, will be ready to admit that no man in existence could more heartily regret that any tyranny of circumstances or policy should so pervert the natural dispositions of my countrymen.

"'I have little more to say. **Success** is **all** in this life; and, unfavoured of her, virtue becomes vicious in the ephemeral estimation of those who attach every merit to prosperity.

"'In the glorious race of patriotism, I have pursued the path chalked out by Washington in America, and Kosciusko in Poland. Like the latter, I have failed to emancipate my country; and unlike both, I have forfeited my life. I have done my duty, and I have no doubt the court will do theirs; and I have only to add, that a man who has thought and acted as I have done, should be armed against the fear of death'.

"A member—'This paper, then, which you have read, contains nothing in denial of the charge made against you'.

"Prisoner—'What I have once done, I would be ashamed to deny'.

"Here the prisoner, having been asked by the Judge-Advocate if there was anything else which he wished to offer to the court, he replied, that if he was not to be brought up again before the decision of the court, he would wish to say a few words more, which being permitted, the prisoner proceeded:—

"'I conceive that I stand here in the same light with our *emigres;* and if the indulgence lay within the power of the court, I would only request—what French magnanimity allowed to Charette and to the Count de Sombreuil—the death of a soldier, and to be shot by files of grenadiers. This is the only favour I have to ask, and I trust that men susceptible of the nice feelings of a soldier's honour, will not refuse the request. It is not from any personal feeling that I make this request, but from a respect to the uniform which I wear and to the brave army in which I have fought. From papers which I yesterday delivered to the Brigade

Major, it will be seen that I am as regularly breveted an officer in the French service, as any here is in the British army, and it will be seen that I have not my commission as a protection'.

"Judge-Advocate—'I wish you to be aware, that your acceptance of a commission in the French service amounts to positive proof of the charge advanced against you; but, from your admissions already, I suppose that by the production of those papers, you merely want to show that you were an officer in the French army'.

"Prisoner—'Nothing more'.

"The papers were then produced, and were a brevet for the rank of chef de brigade, and a letter of service, both having the signatures of the President of the French Directory and the Minister of War. By one of those, it appeared that his last appointment was to proceed to Brest, to join the army of England; and to some questions asked of him, he answered, that he had been appointed to three several armies destined to three several expeditions, under Buonaparte, Hoche, and Kilmaine, an Irishman. Having been asked why he was designated in the brevet and letter of service by the name of Smith, together with that of Tone, he explained by saying, that in proceeding from America to France, it was necessary that he should have a passport, and accordingly took the first that fell in his way, which happened to be made out in the name of Smith; on entering France, he was accordingly registered by that, and his real name, which he had added thereto; 'indeed, almost every soldier in France had what they call a nom de guerre'. He repeated his desire to be indulged with death in the most honourable manner, and as he had no doubt of the decision of the court, he expressed a wish that the confirmation of it by the Lord Lieutenant might be had as soon as possible, and execution of the sentence immediately follow—within an hour, if it were practicable.

"The President replied, that the court would forthwith proceed to a consideration and judgment of his case, after which no delay would take place in transmitting the proceedings to his Excellency; and that it was probable whoever went with them, would bear back the Lord Lieutenant's determination on the subject.

"The prisoner then thanked the court for the indulgence which had been extended to him. He was brought back to the Provost Marshalsea.

"The whole of Saturday and Sunday, Mr. Tone expressed much anxiety to learn the decision of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, concerning the request he had made as to the mode of his execution; having no doubt at all as to the sentence of the court, and its confirmation by his Excellency.

The Unfortunate
THEOBALD WOLFE TONE. ESQ.

"On Sunday evening he was informed that his conviction and sentence was confirmed by his Excellency; but that his request, as to the mode of execution, could not be complied with; that he must suffer the same fate as others who were taken in war against their King and Country; and that the peculiar circumstances of his case rendered it necessary his execution should be in the most public manner, for the sake of a striking example; that he must be executed in front of the New Prison.

"This, however, was an arrangement for which all his fortitude and philosophy could not string the nerves of Mr. Tone. Such a torrent of public ignominy was too much for reflection, and he took the resolution of anticipating the executioner by his own hand, and relieving his mind from the intolerable load of horror, which the manner of his approaching fate impressed, for when the sentinel who watched in his room, went to rouse him on Monday morning —he found him exhausted, weltering in blood, with his throat cut across, and apparently expiring. The sentinel immediately alarmed the provost marshal; a military surgeon of the 5th Regiment of Dragoons immediately attended, and on examining the wound, pronounced it not mortal, though extremely dangerous; to which Mr. Tone faintly answered, 'I find then I am but a bad anatomist'.

"The wound, which was inflicted with a penknive,* intersected the wind pipe between two of the cartilaginous rings which form that organ, and amount to what surgeons style the operation of bronchotomy: it was dressed, but only with a view to prolong life till the fatal hour of one o'clock, appointed for execution, to which end the cart was prepared, and an escort of cavalry and infantry under orders to attend it. But in the meantime a motion was made in His Majesty's Court of King's Bench, then sitting, to arrest execution, grounded on an affidavit sworn by the father of the prisoner, that he had been tried, convicted, and sentenced to death, on a charge of high treason, before a military court of seven members, sitting in the barracks of Dublin, though he did not belong to His Majesty's army; while His Majesty's Court of King's Bench was sitting, before which the prisoner might have been tried in the ordinary way. Mr. Curran, who ably argued the point, moved that an Habeas Corpus do issue forthwith to bring up the prisoner instanter.

"The court immediately complied, and the officer who served the order on the provost martial, returned with answer, that Brigade-Major Sandys said he would comply with no orders but those of the commander-in-chief of the

* Cooke writing to Wickham, says: Mr. Tone. . . . contrived to obtain a razor, he cut his throat this morning at six o'clock. Cornwallis Correspondence, vol. 2, p. 434. Ed.

garrison. The court immediately directed the sheriff to repair to the barracks, take Mr. Sandys into custody, and bring him before the court. The sheriff, on his return, reported that Major Sandys was not to be found; that he had seen General Craig, at whose instance he accompanied the surgeon to Mr. Tone, and that the surgeon reported the prisoner could not be removed to court, without danger of instant death.

"The surgeon attended and made affidavit to the same effect, and the return of the writ of Habeas Corpus was postponed for four days, and the court ordered the sheriff in the meantime to take the body of Theobald Wolfe Tone into his protection. In this situation he continued until Monday, the 19th of November, when he died, having suffered most excruciating pain for eight days. His body was delivered to his parents for interment. Thus ended the life of this unhappy gentleman, whose talents might have been an ornament to his country".*

The particulars of Curran's application to the court are given more at large in "The Life of Tone", and they are so honourable to the character of that excellent man, Lord Kilwarden, that it would be an injustice to omit them, as they are given by young Tone:—

"'I do not pretend', said Curran, 'that Mr. Tone is not guilty of the charges of which he is accused. I presume the officers were honourable men. But it is stated in this affidavit as a solemn fact, that Mr. Tone had no commission under His Majesty, and therefore no court-martial could have cognizance of any crime imputed to him whilst the Court of King's Bench sat in the capacity of the great criminal court of the land. In times when war was raging, when man was opposed to man in the field, courts-martial might be endured; but every law authority is with me whilst I stand upon this sacred principle of the constitution--the martial law and civil law are incompatible, and that the former must cease with the existence of the latter. This is not, however, the time for arguing this momentous question. My client must appear in this court. He is cast for death this very day: he may be ordered for execution whilst I address you. I call on the court to support the law, and move for an Habeas Corpus to be directed to the Provost-Marshal of the Barracks of Dublin and Major Sandys, to bring up the body of Tone'.

"Chief Justice—'Have a writ instantly prepared'.

"Curran--My client, may die whilst the writ is preparing'.

"Chief Justice—'Mr. Sheriff, proceed to the barracks and acquaint the Provost-Marshal that a writ is preparing to suspend Mr. Tone's execution, and see that he be not executed'.

* "Dublin Magazine", November, 1798.

"The court awaited in a state of the utmost agitation and suspense the return of the sheriff. He speedily appeared, and said: 'My lord, I have been to the barracks in pursuance of your order. The Provost-Marshal says he must obey Major Sandys. Major Sandys says he must obey Lord Cornwallis'. Mr. Curran announced at the same time that Mr. Tone, the father, was just returned after serving the Habeas Corpus, and that General Craig would not obey it. The Chief Justice exclaimed: 'Mr. Sheriff, take the body of Tone into custody, take the Provost-Marshal and Major Sandys into custody, and show the order of the court to General Craig'.*

*** Sandys' Career subsequent to 1798.**

Major Sandys must have felt all the magnitude of his official greatness, and no doubt was proud of his position, when he spurned the Sheriff of Dublin and the order of the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and in the height of his power as brigade-major, from his place of terror and uncontrolled authority in the Provost, he, the supreme arbiter of the issues of life and death in that command, set at utter defiance the laws of the land, and proclaimed his determination to yield no obedience to the orders of the Lord Chief Justice in the legitimate exercise of his high functions.

This, no doubt, was the proudest moment of Major Sandys' life. There certainly never was a period when his power was more terrible to his fellow-citizens; he might have said of it, like Wolsey: "I have touched the highest point of all my greatness, and from the full meridian of my glory I haste now to my setting". Let us see how long the power and prestige and prosperity of this bold, reckless, and unscrupulous man endured. Let us ascertain, if we can, from a brief notice of his subsequent career, what evidence is furnished in favour of the opinion, that great crimes against humanity generally meet great punishments and signal judgments of various kinds in this life.

Of the triumvirate of majors—Sirr, Swan, and Sandys—to whose "tender mercies" the citizens of Dublin, who were not Orangemen, were delivered over in the "reign of terror", by Lords Camden, Clare, and Castlereagh, the most truculent and remorseless was Major Sandys, the brother-in-law of Mr. Secretary Cooke. Of the horror of the Provost, and the iniquitous acts of Major Sandys, it is unnecessary to say more; but of the termination of the career of that unfortunate man, and of the signal retribution with which his great crimes against humanity were visited in his latter days, a few words remain to be said, on the authority of a gentleman of great eminence in literature, to whom he was known subsequently to the "reign of terror", and whose father had been the prisoner of Sandys in 1798. That gentleman, Mr. P., an artist of well-known talent, like many other citizens of respectability wholly unconnected with the conspiracy of the United Irishmen, but having the misfortune to be unconnected with the other conspiracy of the Orangemen of Ireland against the people of the country and their religion, was suspected on that account, arrested, and consigned to the Provost. He had not been long there when his attention one day was directed to two prisoners in yeomanry-cavalry uniform, who were just brought in charged with the commission of a wanton and deliberate murder in a public street at noon-day. The brutal expression of the features of one of these men, of the name of Hicks,

The general impression was now, that the prisoner would be led out to execution in defiance of the court. This apprehension was legible in the countenance of Lord Kilwarden; a man who in the worst of times preserved a religious respect for the laws, and who besides, I may add, felt every personal feeling of pity and respect for the prisoner, whom he had formerly contributed to shield from the vengeance of government on an occasion almost as perilous. His agitation, according to the expression of an eye-witness, was manifest to every one in his court.

The sheriff returned at length with the news from the Provost. The Chief Justice instantly ordered a rule for suspending the execution.

particularly attracted the attention of the artist. Mr. P., while standing at the opposite side of the court, where this man was seated, took out his pencil and commenced taking his likeness on a slip of paper, held in such a way in his hand as to be unperceived by those in front of him. He had scarcely finished his sketch, however, when a person behind him snatched the paper out of his hand, and demanded in a loud voice and with a forcible imprecation, what he was secretly writing. Mr. P. answered that he was an artist, and for mere amusement was making a sketch of one of the prisoners. Major Sandys—for he was that formidable person who had just entered the prison unpercieved by Mr. P.—then looked at the scrap of paper, and exclaimed with an oath, "What an extraordinary likeness of Hicks!" He then asked Mr. P. his name, and when he heard it, he expressed some surprise, and said, "What the D——l, P., has brought you here?" Mr. P. stated the truth, that he had not the slightest idea, unless it might be on account of former social intercourse with some of the persons who were then in prison charged with treason. Sandys then told Mr. P. to make himself as comfortable as he could, as he supposed that he would be liberated in the course of a few weeks, and in the meantime he would afford him some better employment for his pencil than sketching prisoners; and finally he intimated a wish to have his own portrait painted by Mr. P. at his (the major's) own abode, stating that Mr. P. might send home for his colours and brushes, and come to his house from the Provost as often as was necessary for that purpose. It is hardly necessary to say this flattering offer was gladly accepted by Mr. P. An excellent likeness was taken of Major Sandys, and in the interim between the sittings, the artist spent several weeks in "durance vile"; but during this period, habits of intimacy had sprung up between the prisoner and his custodian, and many opportunities were afforded to the former of doing signal services to fellow-citizens of his who were then in the Provost, and not a few who were then at large, but would have been inmates of that prison had it not been for his timely intimation of impending danger.

At the period above referred to, the well-known John Hevey, the brewer, was a prisoner in the Provost. The major on one occasion accosted Hevey in a friendly manner, and spoke to him about a favourite mare of his which he (Hevey) had been formerly in the habit of riding about Dublin. The major said the animal was no use to him then; he had better write an order to his friends to let him (the major) have the mare. Hevey evidently did not relish the proposal, but felt it would be imprudent to give a plump refusal. He said he was quite sure his friends would refuse to act on any such a written order. They would say, it was extorted from him by some undue means, so long as he continued a prisoner there. The major turned towards Mr. P., and said: "Here is a man who will be liberated in a few days, and as I am aware there

An account of Tone's condemnation and death is detailed in the garbled life of that noble officer, Sir John Moore, by his brother, Mr. James Moore. Sir John Moore had been actively engaged in suppressing the rebellion of 1798; and speaking of its leaders, he says: "The day before I left Dublin, Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone was brought in prisoner, taken on board the 'Hoche', in the action of the 12th of October. I endeavoured to see him, but he was conveyed to the Provost prison before I reached the Castle. He is said to have been one of the principal and first framers of the United Irish. He is the son of a coachmaker in Dublin, but was educated at the College for a lawyer; and, by some

is no charge against him, I will allow him in the interim to go to your house, and deliver a verbal order to your friends to give up the mare. P. is well-known to them, and they won't refuse to act on your instructions thus communicated". Poor Hevey was no match for the major's ingenuity: he had no alternative but to consent to the proposal. Mr. P. went on his mission: the brewer's valuable mare was duly transferred to Major Sandys' stable, and in that subsequent memorable action in a court of law, which Curran has immortalised, that transfer is described, but not in all respects correctly. A few days later Mr. P. was liberated. Poor Hevey was less fortunate. Prudence required that his imprisonment should be prolonged till his truculent psychologist, speculating on the effect of "that sickness of the heart which arises from hope deferred", could count on having sufficiently broken down the spirit of his prisoner, and thus obviated all danger of an assertion of his rights in any criminal proceedings for their vindication in a court of law.

Hevey's spirit did not break down fast enough for the security of his persecutors. The majors held a council of war, and it was determined that Hevey should be judicially murdered in Kilkenny. A charge of treason was trumped up against him; a Kilkenny witness was provided by the majors; the prisoner was packed off, to his utter consternation, to the County Kilkenny, to be tried for his life by court-martial. He was duly convicted on suborned evidence, and sentenced to be hanged. All was then right; the property of the convicted brewer's mare was legally secured for Major Sandys. But, alas! the major's stable "was condemned to the grief of restitution". Camden was gone: his successor Cornwallis would be no party to the infamous transfer of the prisoner's property, or the sacrifice of life that was to secure it. He dashed his pen across the finding of the complacent court, and in a little time Hevey walked abroad, a free man in his native city, where Major Sandys was then riding about in the discharge of his high functions on the valuable mare of his late prisoner. Would that the limits of this work admitted the numerous authentic official proofs in my possession of the humanity of Lord Cornwallis! of presenting to the public the original minutes, in my hands, of the numerous courts-martial of this time, wherein the word "Death" is indignantly dashed out by Lord Cornwallis, and the words "To be liberated" substituted for the former emphatic monosyllable

The happy influence of freedom on Hevey's mind was manifested a few weeks after his liberation, in an action at law against Major Sandys for the recovery of his mare. Sandys, naturally surprised and disgusted at such an instance of audacity on the part of one whose life and liberty were so lately in his hands, at first imagined that Hevey must have been mad; but that impression was removed as the legal proceedings against him progressed. Painful foreboding of innumerable other actions of a similar kind troubled his repose; and either his prudence,

writings which are said to be his, he appears to be a man of considerable talent. He was tried by a court-martial at the barracks the day after his arrival, where I understand he conducted himself with great firmness and manliness. He,

or the sagacity of his attorney, suggested a step that must have been a most reluctant one: he sent back the mare which he had feloniously appropriated during the imprisonment of a man under his charge, and he paid that man's attorney all the costs of the proceedings which had been instituted against himself.

But the other major, the confederate of Sandys in his worst crimes against humanity and justice, up to that time in "the reign of terror",—Sirr took upon him the task of punishing the daring crime of a man liberated from the clutches of a brother major, appealing to the laws of his country for redress of wrongs suffered at the hand of a high functionary of police. He insulted Hevey in a public place of resort, publicly declared, "that fellow Hevey ought to have been hanged"; and when Hevey remonstrated with him and characterized his conduct in the only terms that could be applied to it, Sirr committed the man he so grossly insulted to jail, on a warrant falsely attributed to General Craig: and there Hevey lay till his friends extorted from him an apology to his redoubtable persecutor, suggested by brother Major Sandys, whereupon unfortunate Hevey was once more liberated from prison. For the false imprisonment an action was brought against Sirr. The Major was cast in damages to the amount of £150, and condemned to pay all cost of suit.

Sandys in his latter days found himself cast off by all his former fellow officials, who had prospered in "the reign of terror", or risen to official eminence in it, and retained the emoluments of office, or had kept together their ill-gotten gains of 1798,—the swag of many a wrecked homestead in the city of Dublin at that disastrous period. He was repudiated even by his old friend Major Sirr, and in the public thoroughfare where they had formerly swaggered side by side, the latter passed him by with scorn. That was the "cruelest cut of all". and if poor Sandys had a mantle in those days of his adversity, he might have wrapped himself up in it, and with any little dignity at his command, and apostrophizing his old comrade, well might have exclaimed: "Et tu Brute".

The son of Mr. P., to whom I have previously referred, some years subsequently to the rebellion, frequently met Major Sandys at the house of a medical gentleman on Arran Quay. Sandys was then far from an aged man, but he was a care-worn, mind-harassed person; no longer prosperous or formidable; all traces of the bold swaggering terrorist were gone. His old patrons in authority had disappeared, and their successors had cast him off as a worthless, used-up agent of a discredited regime, whose services they did not want nor wish to have the obloquy of recognizing. Sandys felt this contumely keenly, and the wounded pride of the unfortunate tool of wicked men in high places; and the great teachings of adversity had eventually a happy influence on his feelings, so far at least as to bring him to loathe his former career of iniquity, and to reflect on it with remorse, and at times with something like repentance. My informant tells me he often has seen him apparently deeply dejected and unhappy, and heard him as he suddenly started from a reverie, in the presence even of persons engaged in conversation, exclaim: "Would that I had my career to run over again! How differently would I act to what I have done!"

Poor man! even then, it is to be feared, his own powers of reason and feeble purposes, or rather desires, were the result of disappointed hopes and futile expectations of long continued favour and protection at the hands of men in power, afforded the only glimpse of light that broke in upon him. If the light of religion had beamed on his mind in

had prepared a speech, part of which only he was permitted to deliver, the rest being conceived inflammatory. By that part which he delivered he discovers a superiority of mind which must gain to him a degree of sympathy beyond what is given to ordinary criminals".

[Did Wolfe Tone commit suicide? The following documents collected from various sources appear to cast a grave shadow of doubt upon the popular story of Tone's death.

It will be observed that whereas Lentaigne, the French surgeon says that Tone "opened a vein in his neck", the

youth, if its teachings had reached his heart in early life, even though it might have been lost sight of for a season, how different, in the long run of his career, might that man's conduct have been in manhood, cast even as it was on the worst of times, and brought into contact with the worst of men' Who can read this brief account of Sandys' feelings in his latter days, and not be awakened to a conviction of the tremendous responsibility of those who have the power of guiding and shaping the whole after-life direction of youthful minds, and who fail to exert it by bringing the all-potent influences of religion to bear on the education of the young?

Sandys sunk into downright indigence and destitution. He lived in the vicinity of Leixlip, separated from his family, occasionally relieved by some of his former acquaintance, but so abandoned to irregularities of all kinds, that no effort to serve him was of any lasting benefit. He died in abject misery, squalor, and most grievous suffering, about 1811, for several weeks previously to his decease hardly with the necessaries of life, deserted by all his friends, and in so loathsome a condition, labouring under one of the most revolting cutaneous diseases to which humanity is liable (morbus pedicularis), that he wanted at times the common care of an attendant on the bed of death.

The career of this unfortunate man, from the end of 1798 to the close of his wretched life, affords an example and a warning instance of the unerring aim and condign terrors of the Divine retribution, which those who enter on violent courses and inhuman procedures, however countenanced by authority, would do well to ponder on.

I have seen the sister of this unfortunate man—a lady who had figured in society, who had been admired and courted on account of her own personal attractions, and the power and influence of her brother in the hour of his prosperity—miserably clad in the threadbare remnants of an old black dress (not of the coarse materials of the attire of a common beggar), sitting on the steps of a hall door in Great Charles Street, Mountjoy Square, waiting there with a forlorn look, the result of an application to the owner of that house for charity—a gentleman who had known her brother in his latter years. As I passed that wretched looking woman on the steps of that door, to enter the house of the gentleman above referred to, and whom I have already had so often occasion to allude to as my informant, Mr. P., I could not help being struck with the especial expression of forlornness of that woman's features, those apparently of one who had seen better days, and had nothing to expect but want and wretchedness in this world.

After being some time with my friend Mr. P., he asked me if I had noticed a woman at the door as I entered. That woman, he said, who had just sent in an application to him for charity, was the sister of Major Sandys.

Hers were not the only nor the worst calamities which are connected with the name and career of Major Sandys. R. R. M.

government authorities speak of his having "cut his throat with a razor". Does not this show that even officialdom was not cognisant of the manner in which he met his end ? It may be suggested that the weapon was placed in his hands by someone who wished to spare him the indignity of a death by hanging, and that the prisoner took advantage of this in so far as he intended to render his neck incapable of bearing the executioner's noose. Did Major Sandys inform the first messenger from Lord Kilwarden of Tone's condition, or was he "suffered to cut his throat" in the interval between the arrival of the first and second messengers ?

The fact that Lentaigne, the French emigre, was selected to attend Tone is also significant, as he could entertain no friendly feeling for an officer of that Republic which had driven his family from their home.] Ed.

[A SINISTER PROPHECY.

The Marquis of Buckingham writing to Lord Grenville from Dublin on November 10th, 1798, makes the following statement:—

"Tone has just been tried; he desired to give the court-martial no trouble; acknowledged that he was an Irishman, and in the service of the French Republic; gloried in having been the instrument of uniting three million of his fellow-countrymen against the oppression and tyranny of England, and of having procured from 'the great nation' that assistance for the recovery of their liberty which had so unfortunately failed. He was stopped in parts of his declamation addressed to the Catholics of Ireland, for whom, he said, he was happy to lay down his life, and requested of the court that they would copy the humanity of the French Directory and government who, in judging to death Charrette, Sombreuil, and others who had fought in opposition to them, had reconciled their death to the feelings of a soldier; and he therefore begged to be shot, 'not so much from his private feelings, as from a sense of respect to the uniform he wore'. He finished by requesting that the sentence might be sent to Lord Cornwallis instantly, and hope His Excellency would confirm it, and order it to be executed within the hour. Notwithstanding all this he was much agitated, and I cannot help thinking that he means to destroy himself before Monday, on which day it is supposed he will be hanged".

Hist. MSS. Comm. Dropmore Papers, vol. iv., p. 369.

The concluding sentence of this letter must be regarded as conveying very intelligent anticipation.] Ed.

Lord Clare to Auckland, dated Dublin, November 15th, 1798.

. . . "We got into a little scrape by bringing Mr. Tone for trial to Dublin by a court-martial sitting by the side of the court of King's Bench. We shall probably get out of it by the death of Mr. Tone who was suffered to cut his throat on the day appointed for his execution; and if the vagabond should not die of his wound, we may get out of it, if His Majesty's attorney-general will act as he has been advised to proceed". Auckland Correspondence, vol. 4.

[Did the government fear the consequences of executing a French officer ? Doubtless many highly placed English officers were at that time prisoners of war in France, and reprisals may have been feared.] Ed.

[Cornwallis Correspondence, vol. 2, p. 435.

. . . "Tone was tried November 10th. In his defence he attempted to justify his conduct, and to prove that, having accepted a commission in the French service he was no longer amenable to English law. The greater part of his defence has been published but as the court-martial would not allow him to read the passage which follows, it has never been made public:—

"'I have laboured in consequence to create a people in Ireland by raising three millions of my countrymen to the rank of citizens. I have laboured to abolish the infernal spirit of religious persecution by uniting the Catholics and Dissenters. To the former I owe more than ever can be repaid, the services I was so fortunate as to render them they rewarded munificently; but they did more: when the public cry was raised against me, when the friends of my youth swarmed off and left me alone, the Catholics did not desert me—they had the virtue to sacrifice even their own interests to a rigid principle of honour; they refused, though strongly urged, to disgrace a man who, whatever his conduct towards the government might have been, had faithfully and conscientiously discharged his duty towards them, and in doing so, though it was in my own case, I will say they showed an instance of public virtue and honour of which I know not whether there exists another example'.

"Martial law and civil process are now at issue, and I believe it is impossible that the former can be exercised whilst the civil courts are allowed to proceed and hold their sittings. I fear also we shall have much embarrassment from our prisoners on board tenders. They will all move for writs of Habeas Corpus, and it will be a nice point for the courts to decide on the legality of proceedings under martial law".

Cooke to Wickham. Cornwallis Correspondence, vol. 2, p. 435.]

The consummation of Lord Cornwallis's incapacity seems drawing on fast. He has suspended Tone's execution until further orders; he has directed Major Sandys (the Acting Provost-Marshal of Ireland) to put in for answer that his reason for not obeying the Habeas of yesterday was 'because Tone could not be moved with safety', and he has directed all courts-martial now sitting to be suspended. I could not have believed this if Lieutenant-General Craig had not shewn me his orders, and if Sandys had not shewn me his answer, prepared by Kemys the Crown Solicitor. The consequence of this is an order, moved by Curran for bringing up Tone in the custody of the sheriff so soon as he can be moved, which order is only delayed under an assurance that it is not intended to carry the sentence of the court-martial into execution for some days, and a peremptory order made (upon motion) for committing Sandys. In this manner has Lord Cornwallis completely overthrown the whole system of military tribunals that were sanctioned by proclamation, to which the judges were parties, approved by parliament; and the result of it will be, unless he again changes his system, a general gaol delivery of every suspected person (by Habeas) not in the custody of the civil power. Such is the firmness and vigour of his conduct in the case of the man who glories to this moment (and so told the court) that he was the man to rouse three millions of his fellow-subjects to a sense of their debasement from that bane to all their prosperity, their connection with Great Britain; that he had first suggested the doing this by French assistance; and that he died happy in having been the instrument to obtain it. And to this glory Tone is too truly entitled, for you know that his assertions are most true. I enclose to you the account drawn up by order of government for their newspaper, and much softened; and yet you will see how strong the language of this man has been stated in their narrative.

"Since I wrote this, I am assured that Lord Cornwallis will hang this man as soon as he is a little better; and that he means to stand his ground and to abide by the military courts. If so, his conduct is tenfold more unintelligible.

"God protect us from such absolute imbecility, the result of which I will venture to foretell, will shock and loosen the little government now existing".

Hist. MSS. Comm. Dropmore Papers, vol. iv., p. 374.

Castlereagh to Wickham. Dublin Nov. 16th, 1798.

" . . . You will observe by the papers that T. W. Tone, having been sentenced by a court-martial to suffer death, on the morning of his execution cut his throat, so as to render his recovery very precarious. On the same day, Mr. Curran moved to have him brought up by a writ of Habeas Corpus, which was of course granted. The return

made to the court was, that he could not be moved from his place of confinement with safety to his life: in this situation the matter rests. The opinion of the Crown lawyers has been taken, and they have advised, in case he is brought before the King's Bench, and that it is purposed, he being in custody of the Court, that he shall be disposed of under Municipal law, to inquire into his treatment, rather than bring the question of martial authority to a solemn decision, which would occasion delay, embarrass the Court, and perhaps expose the State to have its summary interference for its own prosecutions deferred in a manner injurious to the public safety.] Ed.

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CHAPTER V.

Curran's relations with the United Irishmen—Tone's Letters to his friends after conviction—his death and burial—his works.

Previously to the trial, Tone's relative, William Dunbavin, had an interview with him in the Provost. His law agent was likewise permitted to visit him on two or three occasions after his conviction. His father would have gone to see him after the trial, but Tone had wisely determined to spare himself and the poor heart-broken old man the pangs of such a parting, and had sent an intimation to his friends to that effect.

The trial took place on Saturday the 10th of November, and the following Monday had been appointed for the execution at Newgate. In this interval there were two gentlemen busily employed in attempting to procure the means of forming a bar, for the purpose of bringing the case before the Court of King's Bench. The two persons referred to were John Philpot Curran and Peter Burrowes, his early, constant, and faithful friends—faithful in those times which try men's souls, and put all their feelings and affections to the test. Their efforts are thus spoken of by Tone's son:—

"The next day after condemnation was passed in a kind of stupor. A cloud of portentous awe seemed to hang over the city of Dublin. The apparatus of military and despotic authority was everywhere displayed, no man dared to trust his next neighbour, nor one of the pale citizens to betray, by look or word, his feelings or sympathy. The terror

which prevailed in Paris under the rule of the Jacobins, or in Rome during the proscriptions of Marius, Sylla, and the Triumviri, and under the reigns of Tiberius, Nero, Caligula, and Domitian, was never deeper or more universal than that of Ireland at this fatal and shameful period. It was, in short, the feeling which made the people soon after passively acquiesce in the union and in the extinction of their name as a nation. Of the numerous friends of my father, and of those who had shared in his political principles and career, some had perished on the scaffold, others rotted in dungeons, and the remainder dreaded, by the slightest mark of recognition, to be involved in his fate. One noble exception deserves to be recorded.

"John Philpot Curran, the celebrated orator and patriot, had attached himself in his political career to the Whig party, but his theoretical principles went much farther. And when the march of the administration to despotism was pronounced—when the persecution began—I know that in the years 1794 and 1795, and particularly at the Drogheda assizes in the former year, and on occasion of the trial of Bird and Hamill, where they were both employed as council, he (Curran) opened his mind to my father, and that on the main point—on the necessity of breaking the connection with England—they agreed. Curran prudently and properly confined himself to those legal exertions at the bar, where his talents were so eminently useful, and where he left an imperishable monument to his own and to his country's fame. It was well that there remained one place and one man through which the truth might sometimes be heard. He avoided committing himself in the councils of the United Irishmen; but, had the project of liberating Ireland succeeded, he would have been amongst the foremost to hail and join her independence. On this occasion, joining his efforts to those of Mr. Peter Burrowes, he nobly exerted himself to save his friend.

"The sentence of my father was evidently illegal. Curran knew, however, very well that, by bringing the case before the proper tribunal, the result would ultimately be the same—that he could not be acquitted. But then, the delays of the law might be brought into play, and the all-important point of gaining time would be obtained. The French Government could not in honour but interfere, and the case, from a mere legal, would become a political one. In politics my father had many adversaries, but few personal enemies; in private and public life, he was generally beloved and respected; his moderation, too, was known and appreciated by those who feared a revolution, and trusted to him as a mediator, if such an event was to take place. In short, it did not appear a matter of impossibility to have finally saved him by some agreement with the Government.

Determined to form a bar for his defence, and bring the case before the Court of King's Bench, then sitting, and presided over by Lord Kilwarden, a man of the purest and most benevolent virture, and who always tempered justice with mercy, Curran endeavoured the whole day of the 11th to raise a subscription for this purpose. But terror had closed every door; and, I have it from his own lips, that even among the Catholic leaders, many of them wealthy, no one dared to subscribe. Curran then determined to proceed alone. On this circumstance no comment can be expected from the son of Theobald Wolfe Tone. Those men had behaved nobly towards him in former times almost as perilous. The universal dread must be their excuse".* John Keogh is referred to particularly in the preceding observations.

On Saturday night Tone wrote two letters, one addressed to the French Directory, wherein he called to the attention of its members his services in the Republic, his sacrifices, and the forlorn state of a beloved wife and three infant children, about to be deprived, by his death, of protection and support. The letter was written in such terms as became the writer and his situation. The other was addressed to his wife—that noble woman, who was worthy of being the wife of Tone. One or two passages from it, will suffice to show the terms on which their union was founded and maintained.

"Dearest Love—The hour is at last come when we must part. As no words can express what I feel for you and our children, I shall not attempt it. Complaint of any kind would be beneath your courage and mine"....."Adieu, dearest love. I find it impossible to finish this letter. Give my love to Mary (his sister), and above all things, remember that you are the only parent of our dearest children, and that the best proof you can give of your affection for me, will be to preserve yourself for their education. God Almighty bless you all.

"Yours ever,

"T. W. TONE.

"P.S.—I think you have a friend in Wilson, who will not desert you".

His dying wishes were fulfilled to the letter. The only parent of his dearest children remembered her duty to them and to the memory of their father, and, through great difficulties, in many trials and tribulations, with scanty means; and with little sympathy on the part of former friends, that duty was performed by her with heroic constancy and courage.

* "Life of T. W. Tone", by his Son, vol. ii., p. 532.

On Sunday, the 11th of November, Tone addressed another letter to his wife—the last he wrote, in which he tells her, "his mind was as tranquil as at any period of his life". His dying request was, that "she should keep her courage as he had kept his.....cherish his memory, and preserve her health and spirits for the sake of their dearest children".

Among the effects delivered to his father after his decease, was a pocket-book (which was placed in my hands by the son of John Sweetman about fifteen years ago), and was sent, by Tone's directions, to his old friend, Mr. John Sweetman, with a note from his father, which is still preserved in the original, in these words:—

"Dear Sir—The enclosed has been ordered by my son to be delivered to you in remembrance of him,

"And am your obedient servant,

"(Signed) PETER TONE.

"The night that———".

The pocket-book must have been either on Tone's bed or person when the fatal act was committed on the night of the 11th. The green silk lining of the book is stained with blood, and on the lining the words are written in Tone's handwriting:—

"T. W. TONE,

"Nov. 11, 1798.

"Te nunc habet ista secundam".

These last words ever written by poor Tone, the reader will find in Virgil's second eclogue. The poet, as an inducement to Alexis to come to him, tells him that he has a seven-jointed flute, which Damætas, dying, gave him, saying: "Now, for its second master, it has thee".

"Fistula Damætas, dono mihi quam dedit olim,
Et dixit moriens:—te nunc habet ista secundam".

On Sunday night, after Tone had apparently settled himself to rest, it is supposed that, with a penknife which he is said to have secreted, he inflicted the wound on his neck which caused his death on the 19th instant. During the eight days that he languished in a state of great bodily suffering, none of his friends, with one exception, Mr. Hugh Fitzpatrick, of Capel Street, were permitted to visit him. This unnecessary and barbarous rigour has led to the entertainment of suspicions that some foul play had been practised, and that to prevent a discovery of it, the agents of the infamous Sandys, the Telles Jordao of Ireland, were

alone suffered to be about the dying man. The circumstance of the medical man who had been called in to his assistance being a French emigrant, and therefore supposed to be hostile to Tone's principles, has been likewise referred to as a matter tending to confirm the suspicion alluded to. My firm persuasion is, that there are no grounds for it. That French medical man, then an assistant surgeon in the 5th Dragoons, at a much later period I have a recollection of, as the medical attendant of my family, one of the most eminent physicians of his day in Dublin, and one of the most amiable and benevolent of human beings—Dr. Lentaigne, of Dominick Street. The circumstances connected with his attendance on Tone, he detailed to a relative of mine, in terms very similar to those which are given in the account which I have taken from the 'Dublin Magazine'.

Lentaigne's account to my relative was as follows:—"There were several people in the cell when he entered. When Tone discovered by Lentaigne's accent that he was a foreigner, he addressed the latter in French, and said in that language: 'They say that I know everything' (in reference to the late projected descent on Ireland); 'but you see, doctor, there are things I do not know: I find I am but a bad anatomist'. He further said to Lentaigne: 'Your skill had been better spared'".

Lentaigne was a man as little likely as any person I ever knew, to lend himself to any act of the kind imputed to Sandys, by concealing a knowledge of its guilt. He was a most humane and honourable man. Tone's last words, as recorded by his son, show what his feelings were towards Lentaigne, when the latter was impressing on him the necessity of being still and silent, or death would ensue, and that his danger was imminent. Tone, it was said, replied: "I can yet find words to thank you, sir: it is the most welcome news you could give me. What should I wish to live for? Falling back with these expressions on his lips, he expired without further effort", in the thirty-fifth year of his age.*

* Dr. Benjamin Lentaigne, born in 1773, was the son of a lieutenant of dragoons, of Caen, in Normandy. He had two brothers grown up to manhood at the outbreak of the French Revolution, who were both guillotined. He, belonged to a royalist family. One of his brothers, of the Gardes du Corps, had distinguished himself at Versailles on the 6th of October, 1789, in defence of the Queen. All the brothers, on this account, were early marked out as victims by the revolutionary party, and Benjamin only escaped from prison, where his two brothers, John and Joseph, were confined previous to their execution, through the compassion of the jailer's wife, who took pity on his youth (he was then under seventeen years of age), and set him at large from a window of the prison. He escaped to Flanders in 1789, where he served in the army of the emigrant princes. He accompanied these princes subsequently to England in 1792, when he commenced the study of surgery. I have seen a certificate given him, dated London, the 4th of

His son thus speaks of his last moments:—

"Stretched on his bloody pallet in a dungeon, the first apostle of Irish union, and most illustrious martyr of Irish independence, counted each lingering hour during the last seven days and nights of his slow and silent agony. No one was allowed to approach him. Far from his adored family, and from all those friends whom he loved so dearly, the only forms which flitted before his eyes were those of the grim jailer and rough attendants of the prison; the only sounds which fell on his dying ear, the heavy tread of the sentry. He retained, however, the calmness of his soul and the possession of his faculties to the last. And the consciousness of dying for his country, and in the cause of justice and liberty, illumined like a bright halo, his latest moments, and kept up his fortitude to the end. There is no situation under which those feelings will not support the soul of a patriot".*

Thus passed away one of the master spirits of his time. The curse of Swift was upon this man— he was an Irishman. Had he been a native of any other European country, his noble qualities, his brilliant talents, would have raised him to the first honours in the state, and to the highest place in the esteem of his fellow-citizens. His name lives, however, and his memory is probably destined to survive as long as his country has a history. Peace be to his ashes!

William Dunbavin was totally opposed to his kinsman's political opinions. He was a member of a corps of

June, 1796, by the surgeon-in-chief of the French army of the emigrees princes, stating, that after strict examination, his fitness had been ascertained for employment as a military surgeon. He had applied himself to the study of surgery in England from the year 1792 to 1797. He applied to the English government, in 1793, for employment in the army, soon after his arrival, and he ultimately obtained from Mr. Pitt the commission of assistant-surgeon, the 1st of May, 1797, in the 5th Dragoon Guards. He resigned that commission, by the advice of Mr. H. Fitzpatrick, of Capel Street, in August, 1799, while serving in Ireland, being then recently married, and set up in private practice in Dublin, where his success was equal to his merits. In 1800 he graduated in a Scotch University. In 1807 he obtained a diploma as licentiate of the College of Physicians in Ireland, after undergoing examination, and the same year graduated in medicine in Trinity College, Dublin. In 1813 he obtained the honorary degree of doctor in medicine from Trinity College, Dublin. The only published work of Dr. Lentaigne, is a Latin poem of great merit, entitled "De Causis Morborum". His great claim to consideration is the noble use he made of his professional knowledge, and of the large emoluments it brought him. His life and labours were spent in the service of humanity, and pre-eminently in the service of the poor. Two hours daily his doors were thrown open to the sick poor of Dublin, and from them no gratuity was ever received by him. He died of typhus fever, caught in attendance on a poor family, on the 13th of October, 1813, aged forty-one years. R. R. M.

* "Memoirs", vol. ii., p. 539.

yeomanry, and possessed some influence with the terrorists of the day. By means of that influence, probably assisted in high quarters by the interference of the Hon. George Knox, the body of Tone and his effects—clothes, uniform, and sword—were given up to his friends. The two Dunbavins, provided with a written order, went with four men to the Provost for the body, and it was given up to them by Major Sandys. It was taken to William Dunbavin's house, No. 65 High Street (where his father and mother were then living), and laid out in a room on the second floor. The surviving relatives state that the mother bore up astonishingly against the trials which befell her in such quick succession; but the poor father seemed to have been overwhelmed by this last calamity. Matthew was the favourite child of the mother. "She was proud of Theobald, but she loved Mat". "The father was proud of his eldest son, and thought there was none like him"—he doated on him. He seemed to feel the last loss more than the mother, and was so broken down with grief that he was unable to attend the funeral. The mother was a person of strong mind; the father was a simple, well-disposed, kind-hearted man, mild in his manners, and of ordinary understanding.

The body was kept two nights at Dunbavin's. A great number of persons came and sat in the room where the corpse was laid out. At length an order came from government that the interment should immediately take place, and as privately as possible. Dunnan, a near relative of Tone's (my informant), was present when a person, whose name he does not know, was brought to the room where the corpse lay, to take a cast of the face. What became of the cast he does not know.* The funeral, in conformity with the orders of the authorities, was attended

* The cast was taken by Petrie, and unfortunately came into my hands since the publication of the former edition of this work. From the original mask I have had a cast taken, daguerreotyped, and the admirable portrait prefixed to this memoir is taken from it. A lady who has a perfect remembrance of Tone, makes the following observations on the subject of an inquiry respecting the portrait prefixed to the memoir by Tone's son:—"I have been looking at a picture in profile of Theobald Wolfe Tone (prefixed to his life by his son). It does not resemble, according to my recollection of him. He was a very slender, angular, rapid moving man; a thin face, sallow and pock-marked; eyes small, lively, bright; forehead very low, the hair cut close, and growing up from it; nose rather long, I forget the shape, nothing remarkable. He laughed and talked fast, with enthusiasm, about music and other innocent things, so that one could not possibly suspect him of plots and treason. Wise he could not be; but he had not a foolish look—it was too lively and animated for that".

"Success is all in this life", said poor Tone, "and unfavoured of her, virtue becomes vicious"; and wisdom, he might have added (with all respect for the opinion expressed by the amiable lady referred to), ever finds a failure such as his leaves the unsuccessful rebel no claims to its possession. R. R. M.

only by two persons, William Dunbavin and James Ebbs, a brazier, who resided in Bride Street: both were members of a corps of yeomanry. The remains of Theobald Wolfe Tone were interred in the ancient cemetery of Bodenstown, close to the wall, on the south side of the ruined abbey that stands in the centre of the graveyard, in the same grave where his brother's remains were recently buried, and those of his grandfather and his uncles reposed. A slab, with the following inscription, is laid over the grave:—

"This burial-place belongs to William Tone and his family. Here lieth the body of the above, who departed this life the 24th of April, 1766, aged sixty years; and also three children".

That slab, in the absence of any other memorial, served to point out to me and the nearest surviving relative of T. W. Tone, in 1842, the spot where the ashes of Theobald Wolfe Tone were deposited. There was then no monument to his memory in stone or marble; but there was one in the heart's core of Ireland, and his name is written there in large and lasting characters.

Some remarkable lines on "Tone's Grave", were written by Thomas Davis, one of Ireland's most gifted sons, in this age of mediocrity, of whom it might be truly said—

> "His promises were like Adonis' gardens,
> That one day bloomed, and fruitful were the next";

and now, alas ! of whom we have to say, the cypress waves over the early grave of all those great hopes. A pilgrimage to Bodenstown churchyard, made by Davis in 1843, accompanied by a person whose pursuits were akin to those of Old Mortality, resulted in the successful efforts of Davis a little later to mark the spot where the remains of Theobald Wolfe Tone were deposited. A monumental slab was placed there, with the following words inscribed on it:—

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
THEOBALD WOLFE TONE,
WHO DIED FOR IRELAND,
ON THE 19TH OF NOVEMBER, 1798.

Claverhouse and Castlereagh have left graves enough for mournful strains and pious pilgrimages in the land of the Gael and in that of the Celt:—

"TONE'S GRAVE.

I.

"In Bodenstown churchyard there is a green grave,
And wildly along it the winter winds rave;
Small shelter, I ween, are the ruin'd walls there,
When the tempest sweeps down on the plains of Kildare.

II.

"Once I lay on that sod, it lies over Wolfe Tone,
And I thought how he perish'd in prison alone,
His friends unavenged, and his country unfreed—
'Oh! bitter', I said, 'is the patriot's meed!'

III.

"'For in him the heart of a woman combined
With a heroic life and a governing mind:
A martyr for Ireland, his grave has no stone;
His name seldom named, and his virtues unknown'.

IV.

"I was woke from my dream by the voices and tread
Of a band who came into the home of the dead:
They carried no corpse, and they carried no stone,
And they stopp'd when they came to the grave of Wolfe Tone

V.

"There were students and peasants, the wise and the brave,
And an old man who knew him from cradle to grave;
And children, who thought me hard-hearted, for they
On that sanctified sod were forbidden to play.

VI.

"But the old man, who saw I was mourning there, said:
'We come, sir, to weep where young Wolfe Tone is laid;
And we're going to raise him a monument too—
A plain one, yet fit for the simple and true'.

VII.

"My heart overflow'd, and I clasp'd his old hand,
And I bless'd him, and bless'd every one of his band:
'Sweet, sweet 'tis to find that such faith can remain
To the cause and the man so long vanquish'd and slain'.

VIII.

"In Bodenstown churchyard there is a green grave,
And freely around it the winter winds rave,
Fit thoughts to awaken of ruin and gloom,
'Till Ireland, a nation, can build him a tomb".

Shortly after Tone's departure for America, his name was introduced into a discussion in the Irish House of Commons, in a virulent and violently abusive manner, by one of the miserable creatures of that house, who dealt in "words full of sound and fury, signifying nothing". One of the brightest ornaments of that assembly, however, William Conyngham Plunkett (Lord Plunkett), had the manliness to stand up in his place, and to pronounce those words: "He (Tone) now wastes, on the desert air of an American plantation, the brightest talents that I ever knew a man to be gifted with. I am sorry for his fate; for I never shall speak or think of the unhappy gentleman to whom I allude, with acrimony or severity. I knew him from early infancy, as the friend of my youth and companion of my studies: and while I bear testimony to the greatness of his abilities, I shall say of him, that he had a heart which nothing but the accursed spirit of perverted politics could mislead or deprave".

The celebrated Todd Jones, in reference to some virulent strictures of Musgrave, thus spoke of his former friend, Tone: " I seek not to disclose his merits, or draw his frailties from the tomb. Remote from all political considerations, he was genius, taste, and talent **personified;** almost unrivalled in the qualities which convince the reason and lay strong hold of the feelings of the heart".

Respecting Tone's religious sentiments, having heard conflicting opinions expressed regarding them, Dr. Madden made some inquiries on the subject of Miss M'Cracken, who had been intimately acquainted with him. Miss M'Cracken, in reply, stated that " Tone was not sceptical. There was a society in Belfast, of a political kind, all of whose members were sceptics. They would not admit Tone, because he believed in the truths of religion, and he had given them some proofs of the fact, for they presented him with one of Paine's works, which he refused to read", and I think Miss M'Cracken added, " to accept".

With regard to the authorship of certain songs and poetical pieces, published in the " Northern Star", and a collection of the same in a little volume called the " Harp of Erin, or Paddy's Resource", Miss M'Cracken says: " The only song in ' Paddy's Resource' I know to be Tone's is, ' When Rome by dividing had conquered the world'. I heard Maria Tone, his daughter, sing it in Belfast to the tune of ' The Little Cruiskeen Lawn', in 1795. She was then a beautiful girl of nine years old, and remarkably intelligent. She died in Paris, when about fifteen".

The following is a copy of the song to which Miss M'Cracken alludes:—

When Rome by dividing had conquer'd the world,
And land after land into slavery hurl'd,
Hibernia escap'd; for 'twas Heaven's decree,
That Ierne, united, should ever be free.

Chorus.

The harp then delighted the nations around;
By its music entranc'd, their own suffrings were drown'd;
In arts and in learning the foremost was she,
And Ireland, united, was happy and free.

Chorus.

But soon, ah! too soon, did fell discord begin;
Our domestic dissensions let foreigners in;
Too well they improv'd the advantage we gave;
Whom they came to protect, they remain'd to enslave.

Chorus.

From that fatal hour, our freedom was lost,
Peace, virtue, and learning were banish'd our coast,
And the "Island of Saints" might fitly be call'd
The land of tormentors, by discord enthrall'd.

Chorus.

Then let us remember our madness no more;
What we lost by dissension, let union restore;
Let us firmly unite and our covenant be,
Together to fall, or together be free.

Chorus.

Literary Productions of T. W. Tone.

In January, 1787, Tone arrived in London, and had chambers in the Temple, No. 4, Hare Court, on the first floor; and while residing there he found a pecuniary resource in writing for the "European Magazine", for which, he says in his diary, he wrote several articles, "mostly critical reviews of new publications", for which he received about £50 in two years. These two years must have been 1787 and 1788, for he returned to Ireland on the 23rd of December, 1788; and during that period he also wrote, in conjunction with two friends named Jebb and Radcliffe, a burlesque novel, which was called "Belmont Castle", a production, as he states, "intended to ridicule the execrable trash of the circulating libraries. It was tolerably well done, particularly Radcliffe's part, which was by far the best, yet we could not find a publisher who would risk the printing of it, though we offered the copyright gratis

to several. It was afterwards printed in Dublin, and had some success, though I believe, after all, it was most relished by the authors and their immediate connections". Tone has not stated that in this production several of the most distinguished characters of the day were represented under feigned names, such as Lady Clairville, James Dashton, Colonel Neville, &c.* Tone wrote, also, an article entitled, *The Wonderful* which attracted some attention; and another, *The History of Prince Fanfaridin*, in ridicule of the sentimental romance literature of the day.

Pamphlets and Essays written by T. W. Tone, before he entered on the career of politics.

"Proposals and Memorials Relative to the Establishment of a Military Colony in the Sandwich Islands, and the Liberation of Spanish America", addressed to Mr. Pitt, and "delivered with his own hands to the porter in Downing Street", 1789. The same proposals and memorials he addressed to the Duke of Richmond, on the 20th of September, 1790.

Essays of T. W. Tone, written for "The Political Club", formed in Dublin in 1791, which preceded the Society of United Irishmen.

1. "On the English Connection".
2. "On the State of Ireland in 1720"
3. "On the State of Ireland in 1790".
4. "On Sail Cloth".
5. "On the State of the Army".
6. "On the Necessity of a Domestic Union".

Of these essays, the first, second, third, and fourth only exist, published in Tone's Life, by his son, from the original manuscripts. The key-note argument of these four essays is to the effect that all the evils of Irish misrule are attributable to the undue influence of the English government in the Irish parliament.

Subsequent Political Writings of Theobald Wolfe Tone.

1. "A Review of the Conduct of the Administration during the Seventh Session of Parliament, addressed to the

* "Life of T. W. Tone", by his Son, vol. i., p. 24.

constitutional electors and free people of Ireland, on the approaching dissolution, signed an Independent Irish Whig". Published by order of the Northern Whig Club, 60 pp., Dublin, 1790.

2. "Considerations on the Approaching War with Spain; an Inquiry how far Ireland is bound, of right, to embark in the Impending Contest on the side of Great Britain", signed "Hibernicus", 44 pp., 8vo., Dublin, 1790.

3. "An Argument on Behalf of the Catholics of Ireland, in which the Present State of that Country, and the Necessity of a Parliamentary Reform are Considered", 1791.

4. "Declarations and Resolutions of the Society of United Irishmen", October, 1791.

5. "A Short Answer to 'A Brief Caution to the Catholics of Ireland'", by a Liberty Boy; January, 1792.

6. "Letter to the Grand Jury of the City and County of Londonderry for the Summer Assizes", signed Vindex, 1792.

7. "Reply to a Pamphlet entitled 'The Protestant Interest in Ireland'". First published by Tone's son, in the life of his father, written about 1792.

8. "Letters of a Liberty Boy to the Manufacturers of Ireland", March, 1793.

9. "A Vindication of the Conduct and Principles of the Catholics of Ireland from the Charges made against them by certain late Grand Juries, &c.; with a Copy of the Petition presented to the King, January 2nd, 1793; and Notes reciting Penal Statutes", 1793.

10. "Defence of the Sub-Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, and particularly from the charge of Supporting the Defenders", 1793.

11. "Reasons why the Question of Parliamentary Reform has always Failed in the Irish Legislature" (a fragment left unpublished), 1793.

12. "A Letter to the Editor of *Falkiner's Journal*, in Reply to certain Assertions contained in his paper of July 11th, 1793".

13. "Statement of the Light in which the late Act for the Partial Repeal of the Penal Laws is considered by the Catholics of Ireland", August 21st, 1793.

14. "Plan for Conducting the Election of Delegates, for the Purpose of Taking the Sense of the whole Catholic Population of Ireland on the Petition emanating from the Catholic Convention, the most Important Movement hitherto made by the Catholic Body, and to which it is indebted for the first Relaxation of the Penal Code", 1793.

15. "Memorial on the Present State of Ireland, drawn up for the Rev. W. Jackson, to be presented to the French government", 1794.

15. "An Address to the People of Ireland", 1796.

16. "An Address to the Peasantry of Ireland", signed a Traveller, 1796.

17. "An Address to the Militia", signed Sarsfield, 1796.

Mrs. Tone, soon after the loss of her husband, had received from the French Directory a sum of 1,200 francs as an immediate aid, and three months' pay from the war office was assigned to her. The ordinary pension, rated according to the rank and time of service of her husband, amounted only to 300 francs, which she properly declined to accept. Various applications were made to the government by Tone's friends: amongst the applicants, Lucien Buonaparte was foremost in his efforts, but even his were unsuccessful. In 1803, when Thomas Addis Emmet was in Paris, and some reference was made to the employment of the Irish refugees in the French army, Emmet said, "How could they trust to that government when they saw the widow of Tone unprovided for?" The pension was almost instantly afterwards granted; it amounted to 1,200 livres to the widow, and 400 to each of her three children. At a later period a subscription amounting to £787 was raised in Ireland for the assistance of Tone's widow and children. Some of his early associates, some of those who urged him on in his early political career, one of them, whose wealth and influence as a Catholic leader were then better known than his garden conferences with Tone, it was said, declined to contribute. About 1804 Mrs. Tone lost one of her children, a beautiful and accomplished girl under sixteen, and in 1806, another, her youngest son, a boy of fourteen years of age. The following letter from Mrs. Tone to the mother of her husband, which gives some account of her position and her son's progress about that period, will be read with interest. It is characteristic of the writer.

"May 11th, 1810.

"My Dearest Mother,—I have got an opportunity of writing to you by a gentleman who promises to deliver my letter into your own hands, and yesterday evening I had just finished a long letter to you, and another to Kitty, complaining woefully of not hearing from you, when I had the happiness of receiving both your letters of the 10th of April, which rendered all I had written useless. My ever dear mother, it is a blessing to my heart to hear from you, and hear that you are tolerably well, that you have peace and security, and are not exposed to inconvenience. These negative comforts are all that we can aspire to, or that it would become us to wish for; and for me, I am still hardy in mind and body, and able to dispense even with them if they were taken from me; but indeed if you wanted them in the town where our Theobald was born and died, I think

I should in my despair take counsel from Job's wife, and ———. You cannot afford to keep Mat's little girl by you to support and to comfort your age. As for me; no ! I will never see Ireland whilst I can find a grave in any other part of the globe, by land or by water. But let me say something that will comfort you. My William, the pleasure and joy of my heart, is coming on in every respect as well as heart can wish; he is not strong in health, but he is safe; he completed his nineteenth year some days ago. His growth is nearly finished, and his conduct is so correct that I have no fear for him; he has gone through his studies with great honour; he will finish them this summer, and thinks of taking a course of law; perhaps it is time to turn his education to some account, but in this country there is but one line, and if he must take that it will be always time enough. The powerfully ——— ! when you see him present him with the grateful homage of my respect and my admiration.*

"I cannot say more than this.

"Adieu, my beloved mother. May God almighty bless and preserve you. William joins in every tender wish. Whenever it is possible, I will send him to get your blessing, and return to me with it. I write to my beloved Kitty. what an admirable heart she has ! I have not heard from G—— since my last.

"Ever your own child,

"M. TONE.

"To Mrs. Tone, Dublin".

Mrs. Tone's only surviving child, William Theobald Wolfe Tone, who was born in Dublin, the 29th of April, 1791, was then prosecuting his studies in the Imperial Lyceum (previously, and at present, the College of Louis le Grand). He passed through his studies with great credit, obtained several premiums and certificates highly honourable to his talents and conduct. After having spent eleven years in the Prytaneum and Lyceum, he took his leave of the later in 1810, in which year he contended for the prize of the Institute, which was obtained by a Mr. Sartorius. The essay, however, of young Tone was favourably received by the Institute: the subject of it was, the legislation of the Goths in Italy. The work is in my possession, and it is one which exhibits considerable ability and research. It exhibits, moreover, in its dedication to his mother, feelings of the tenderest affection and of filial

* The grateful homage of Matilda Tone's respect and admiration, I believe, was for her husband's friend of former days, Mr. John Keogh, of Mount Jerome. R.R.M.

respect, and remembrance of the obligations which his father's memory imposed on him. The beautiful appropriateness of the motto, "In me ipso sola spes", is not more striking than the unaffected simplicity and kindness of the boy's nature, in the first and concluding passages of that inscription.

"A ma Mere.

"Si de l'enfance; le besoin de connaitre, la curiosite avide; si des lors j'eus la ferme volonte de ne point languir dans l'ignorance, de ne point suivre les sentiers battus de la vie, c'est a vous, c'est a votre ame noble et courageuse dans l'adversite; au desir de vous consoler un jour de vos pertes, que je le dois. Ce leger Essai, la premiere epreuve de mes forces, est donc a vous. . . .

"Si j'en fais tirer quelques exemplaires ce n'est point dans un pareille intention, ce n'est point pour le public: ce n'est que pour rendre un leger hommage a la meilleure, a la plus noble et la plus cherie des meres".

He was in his eighteenth year when this essay was published. He was placed for the following two years at the Imperial Cavalry School of St. Germains, a military establishment of great repute. His mother, as usual, took up her abode near his school, and after a short time she determined on seeking an interview with the Emperor, with the view of securing his protection for her son in the military career on which he was soon to enter. She took occasion of the Emperor's passing through St. Germains from the palace, while they were changing horses, to approach the carriage and present the book written by her son, and a memorial setting forth his merits and the claims of Theobald Wolfe Tone. Napoleon opened the paper, and when he saw the name of Tone at the commencement, he said, "Je m'en souviens bien". After he had read and re-read it, he said to Mrs. Tone, "Maintenant parlez moi de vous". After inquiring about her pension, and in reply to an observation about young Tone's destination, he said, "Soyez donc tranquille, sur son compte, soyez parfaitement tranquille sur lui". After a word or two more, the imperial carriage drove on, and young Tone's military career under the imperial *regime* was decided. The pension of his mother, which had been reduced 800 francs a year, in consequence of the deaths of her two children, was restored to its original amount.

Young Tone received the rank of cadet in the Imperial School of Cavalry at St. Germains in November, 1810; he was promoted to a sub-lieutenancy in the 8th regiment of Chasseurs in January, 1813; he joined the grand army in

April, 1813; in that year he was in the battles of Lowenberg, Goldberg, Dresden, Lusatia, Bautzen, Muhlberg, Acken, and Leipzig. He served in 1814 and 1815 on the Rhine, in the Pyrenees, at Erfurt, Sandan, and Bayonne. He made three campaigns, served four years and nine months, and received ten wounds. He was promoted in 1813 to the rank of lieutenant on the staff, *aide-de-camp* to General Bagneris, and made a member of the Legion of Honour.

A gentleman from Dublin, Mr. P. V. Fitzpatrick, whose father was intimately acquainted with T. W. Tone, visited Paris in 1814, and for the first time saw William Tone at his mother's residence. He describes the young soldier as a person of a thoughtful and somewhat dejected, but highly pleasing expression of countenance. He was still suffering from his wounds and the effects of his late arduous service. and bore the marks of suffering in his pale, but manly and ingenuous countenance. When he spoke of his campaigns, his features lighted up, and it was evident from his animation that he was proud of his profession, and conscious that he was worthy of it.

He had been either on duty, or in attendance on his general that morning, and was in his full dress military uniform. Some allusion was made to the difficulties through which his mother had been left to struggle, and the conduct of some individuals who had been, as poor Tone thought in his early days, when his noble talents were devoted to their cause, his bosom friends. Young Tone listened in silence for a moment, and, as if suddenly roused, put his hand to his sword, and said: "While I have this—— mother, it is no matter".

The news of the fall of Napoleon, in 1815, reached Tone at Bayonne; the day before the white flag was hoisted in that town he determined wisely and honourably to resign his commission; and, after some months passed at the baths of Bagneres and Barreges, he returned to Paris, where he remained with his mother till the month of September, 1816. He had been prevailed on by Mr. Wilson, the invaluable friend of his mother and himself since the death of his father, to make an application to the British ambassador, through his mother, for permission to visit England. In November, 1815, a polite answer to that application was received from Sir Charles Stuart, stating that he had transmitted Mrs. Tone's representation to England, "in favour of her son", but "the question appeared to have been referred to Ireland", and the disturbances of that country "had prevented that favourable decision which he had reason to hope for on the part of the government, at the time Mrs. Tone did him the honour to call".

LIEUTENANT G. PROSHEAU,

Who was taken Prisoner by the Peasants

at Bantry Bay, *near* Cork.

A writer in the *New Monthly Magazine* under the signature C. E., communicating some interesting particulars of the widow and son of T. W. Tone, from Paris, in 1825, referring to the marriage of Mrs. Tone with Wilson, and the ruin of her son's prospects after Napoleon's second fall in 1815, observes:—

"Young Tone now determined to return to his native country. Having served in the French army, he thought it advisable to obtain the leave of the British government. Sir Charles Stuart was applied to, and declared, with the liberality that has always distinguished his character, that he had no doubt leave would be readily granted. In some little time, however, difficulties were raised by Lord Castlereagh, who was then at Paris. Mrs. Tone was advised to solicit an audience of his lordship, and did so; but after frequent inquiries at the embassy where he resided, no answer was given. At length means were taken to remind 'his excellency' of the application; and upon the next inquiry a French clerk in the office said the answer was, '*Point de reponse a faire*'. Mrs. Tone was deeply stung by the laconic rudeness of this reply, chiefly from an apprehension that it might be supposed she meant to solicit from Lord Castlereagh any favour, her object being to offer an undertaking, if deemed necessary, that her son should reside in Great Britain, and never set foot in Ireland. The letter which she addressed to Lord Castlereagh on his refusal was full of indignant eloquence. I verily believe the minister quailed under it, for his secretary replied to it in a style of shuffling civility. Mr. W—— pressed young Tone to draw upon his fortune as his son. But Tone would be dependent on no man; and soon after, the mother and son parted. He sought his fortune in America".

This act was worthy of Lord Castlereagh. On the 19th of August following, Mr. Wilson, who had come over to Paris with the intention of offering his hand and fortune to the woman to whom he had been as a father, a friend, and a generous benefactor for seventeen years, was married to Mrs. Tone in the chapel of the British ambassador at Paris. Young Tone's career in France was now at an end—he had relinquished his profession—his prospects of fame and honour in it were at an end—his hopes of preferment, his young day-dream of military glory had vanished—his ambition, his enthusiasm in his pursuit had died away; "with a heavy heart" he parted with his mother and Mr. Wilson in the month of September, and embarked at Havre for the United States. His mother accompanied Mr. Wilson to Scotland, the native country of the latter, and before another year had gone round they joined the son of Theobald Wolfe Tone in the new land of his adoption at

New York. A few months after Mrs. Tone's arrival in America, a meeting of the Hibernian Society of New York, of which Emmet and M'Nevin were members, was called in October, 1817, and a resolution was carried, of which the following minute was transmitted to me by Mrs. Tone:—

"In pursuance of a resolution of the Hibernian Society of New York, a committee waited on Mrs. Tone on Saturday last, and in the most respectful manner presented to her a medallion with an appropriate device and inscription,* and to her son a sword, accompanied with the following address:—

'Madam,—We are appointed by the Hibernian Provident Society of New York, to embrace the opportunity of your presence in this city, to express to you their very profound respect for the character and memory of your late illustrious husband, General Wolfe Tone, and of their affectionate attachment to his widow and son. To many of our society he was intimately known; by all of us he was ardently beloved; and while we look back with anguish on the frightful calamities of our time and country, we delight to dwell on his talents, his patriotism, his perseverance, and his dignity in misfortune. Accept, Madam, a testimonial of their esteem, which can pretend to no value but what it may derive from the sincerity with which it is offered. In some other country, perhaps, it may awaken a reflection, that wherever Irishmen dare to express the sentiments of their hearts, they celebrate the name and sufferings of *Tone*, with that melancholy enthusiasm which is characteristic of their national feelings for the struggles and misfortunes of their heroes.

'We are likewise directed to present a sword to his youthful son and successor. . . .

'We are, Madam, with the utmost respect,

'Your most obedient humble servants,

'David Bryson,
'Geo. White,
'Wm. Js. M'Nevin,
'Thomas Addis Emmet,
'George Canning.

'October 6th, 1817'".

To which Mrs. Tone returned the following answer:—

"Gentlemen,—The sweetest consolation my heart can feel, I received in the proof you now give me, that my husband still lives in your affections and esteem, though,

* Victrix causa Diis placuit, sed victa Catoni.

in the course of nineteen disastrous years, the numerous victims who have magnanimously suffered for the liberty of Ireland, might well confuse memory, and make selection difficult. I am proud of belonging to a nation whose sons preserve, under every vicissitude of fortune, a faithful attachment to their principles, and from whose firm and generous minds neither persecution, exile, nor time can obliterate the remembrance of those who have fallen, though ineffectually in the cause of our country. For your gift to my son take his mother's thanks with his, while his mother tremblingly hopes that fate may spare him to prove himself not unworthy of his father or his friends.

"I have the honour to remain, with grateful respect, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

"MATILDA TONE".

At the departure of the Tones from Belfast, a valedictory letter was written by T. W. Tone to Capt. Russell, the uncle of his friend, P. P., who was then with him at Belfast. Tone's farewell lines fill the first side of the page. Then follow a few characteristic ones, in the handwriting of Thomas Russell. On the next side a few kind words at parting with a loved friend, are found in the handwriting of Matilda and of Mary Tone, the wife and sister of Theobald Wolfe Tone. The following is an exact copy of this letter, which is in my possession, addressed to Capt. Russell, at Mr. H. Bell's, Merchants, St. Nicholas' Lane, Lombard Street, London:—

"June 13th, 1795.

"Dear Jack,

"I write this from Belfast, on my way to America. I have been fighting my way here a long time, and, at last, finding all further contest on my part unprofitable, and indeed impossible, I yield to what I cannot any longer oppose. Under this emigration, I find complete support in the testimony of my own conscience, the spirit of my family, and the kindness and affection of my friends; especially those of this town, who, you who know them will well believe, have acted in a manner the most spirited and honourable; indeed I am overpowered with their kindness. I cannot leave Ireland without bidding you farewell. Be assured, dear John, I have the sincerest regard for you. As the women write, I shall make my part the shorter. Remember me most affectionately to H. Bell, whose kindness to me I feel sensibly. Give my love to James Nicholson and to Harman Jones:* they are right good lads,

* A gentleman of good family, and first cousin to John Russell. R.R.M.

and I hope they will not forget me. Write to me under cover to Tom. We go on board this evening.

"Adieu, dear John, God bless you.

"T. W. TONE".

[This letter is preserved among the Madden papers in Trinity College Library. Ed.]

"Dear John,

"Tone's having been here these three weeks, and there being no lack of whiskey, claret, burgundy, &c., must be the excuse for not hearing from,

"Dear John, yours,

"CAMBDEN".*

"My dear, dear John,

"I have not time to say more than God Almighty bless you. This is my last post in Ireland. Farewell for ever; while I have life I shall remember you with sincere affection. Adieu.

"Remember your friend,

"MATILDA TONE".

"My dear John,

"I am this moment going on board, but I could not think of a letter going to you without sending to you a last adieu. Be assured I will remember you for ever, and I expect you will not forget me. God bless you; and may every one feel as warmly towards you as I do.

"Your sincerely affectionate,

"MARY TONE".

In 1819, young Tone published an essay "on armed forces", of which General L'Allemand wrote—that "it is a work of which good generals might be proud". This work was the cause of his being invited to Washington by Mr. Calhoun. In 1824, he published *The School of Cavalry*, on which performance General Bernard has left a flattering comment:—the author "was the only officer who, being competent to compare the schools of the different European nations, and gifted with the requisite faculties for doing so

* i.e. Thomas Russell.

with ability, had been able to bring to the comparison the impartiality, without which one cannot discover truth. The United States is thus possessed of the best work that exists for the instruction of cavalry".

William Tone, in the account of his own career, makes no mention of his having commenced the study of the law soon after his arrival in America. He entered Mr. Sampson's office as a student, and "was received in his house as a dear friend". He continued his new pursuit till he received an invitation from persons high in authority to proceed to Washington. He accepted that invitation, and the result of it was, his being appointed to a captaincy in the United States' army. In 1825, he married the daughter, and then only child, of his father's early friend, William Sampson. In 1827, he resigned his commission in the United States' army. "The Union", which was intended to bind heart to heart and hand to hand in their native country, was not altogether a baseless fabric or an impossible attainment. It was realized in this instance, as in many others, by the children of the exiled men of '98, in another hemisphere. Young Tone and his wife, shortly after his marriage, went to reside at Georgetown. Mr. and Mrs. Sampson gave up their house in New York, and fixed their residence in the former place. "Our house", says Mrs. Tone, "was pleasantly situated in the midst of a garden shaded with locust trees. Our neighbours were amiable and enlightened, and the society of Washington within our reach".

It was during their happy retirement in Georgetown that young Tone completed the work which bears his name, and does honour to it. The conclusion of his labours has a mournful interest for his countrymen, in the reference to his own position, which he speaks of in terms of such contentment, so shortly before his untimely death:— "Here", to use his own words, "enjoying an honourable rank in the American army, and the proud title of a free American citizen; united to the object of my early and constant affections [the only daughter of his father's friend and countryman, Counsellor William Sampson, of New York, whose fate, it is well known, led him, like them, to that country, a victim to the cause of liberty and of his native land], I feel at length like the sailor, who, after a stormy passage, returns to his home, and finds himself clasped by all the ties, and surrounded by all the charities that are dearest and most valuable to the human heart".*

Poor Tone's enjoyment of the peace and happiness of his haven in the new world was of short continuance. America, with her peaceful institutions, afforded no field for fame or

* "Tone's Life", vol. ii., p. 674.

distinction for one who had served in the armies of a military empire, under the soldier-sovereign who swayed a large portion of the world with a sceptre-sword.

Tone's occupation was gone when he abandoned the French service. Literature seems to have been his favourite pursuit, and his last employment was an investigation into the origin of nations; but he did not live to finish his work. The seeds of consumption were sown in his constitution. He died, Oct. 10th, 1828, at the early age of thirty-seven, having just lived long enough to complete the publication of his father's life, which appeared in 1826. Whether with respect to those portions of the work of which he was the editor or the author, the praise must be accorded to him of having performed his task with signal ability and judgment, and of having left the most valuable work that exists, in connection with the subject of the rise, progress, and downfall of the Society of United Irishmen.

This young man's memory, I feel, has claims upon Ireland. His ashes, which now repose in Long Island, ought to be in the graveyard of Bodenstown. He has left one child, a daughter; and his widow (devoted to his memory and to his child) resides in New York with her mother, Mrs. Sampson. From the daughter of Sampson I received the portraits, admirably executed by her, and copied from pictures in the possession of her family, which I have had engraved for this work, of her father and her husband.

T. W. Tone's father continued, during the remainder of his life, to hold a situation in the Paving Board; but the salary was small and inadequate to the maintenance of his wife and himself, even with an addition of some ten or twelve pounds a year arising from the head-rents of one or two small cottages in Phibsborough; but from the time of the death of T. W. Tone to that of Mrs. Tone, which took place at the house of W. Dunbavin, 65 High Street, about 1818, I am informed by a confidential friend of the latter,* that Peter Burrowes allowed the poor lone and forlorn old woman a pension of £40 a year.

Mrs. Tone's family were Catholic. She professed to be a member of that church for some time after her marriage, but she ceased to attend its place of worship and to frequent its sacraments, without formally renouncing its communion. "She passed, however, for a Protestant; but a year and a half before her death she informed her friend, Mrs. Walsh, that she had sent for a priest of her old persuasion, and from that time she became a strict observer of the rites of the Roman Catholic religion. Her husband, Peter Tone, died about twelve years previously, in 1805-6, and both were interred in Bodenstown".

* Statement of Mrs. Walsh, 27 Stafford Street. R.R.M.

The details of the parentage of Tone, and of the interment of his remains, were obtained from his only surviving relatives in Ireland, the daughters of Mr. William Dunbavin, Mrs. Moore, residing at 147 Abbey Street, Dublin, and Mrs. Bull at Simmon's Court, Donnybrook; from the son of William Dunbavin, Nicholas Dunbavin, residing at 20 Mount Pleasant Avenue, Rathmines; and William Dunnan, a nephew of the former, living at Mr. Robert Vickers' in Francis Street. William Dunbavin lived at No. 65 High Street, and died there in 1830. There are some matters connected with the early history and late events in the career of Tone, left unnoticed or but slightly glanced at by his son. The clue to any information of the kind I allude to, was a single passage in one of the publications of Walter Cox, wherein Cox states that he sat, in 1798, in an upper room in High Street, with the father and mother of Theobald Wolfe Tone, watching over the remains of their gifted son, when his former companions and political associates of rank and distinction in the city, kept away from the tradesman's house where the corpse of poor Tone lay "waking". On this slender clue I endeavoured to ascertain who the parties were who had the charity to receive the remains of the "convicted traitor" into their house. On inquiry I ascertained that the house referred to belonged to a Mr. William Dunbavin, and that a son of his and two daughters were still living. Most of the family details now given, and the portraits of Theobald and Matthew Tone when children, and their mother, are the results of my communications with those members of the Dunbavin family.

From Mr. Thomas Dunbavin, residing in the same house in which T. W. Tone's remains were "waked", No. 65 High Street, I received, in 1847, the following account of the relatives of Tone, who were then surviving: "Nicholas Dunbavin, the father of my informant (Thomas Dunbavin), is the nearest living relative of T. W. Tone. Mrs. Margaret Tone, the mother of the latter, whose maiden name was Lambert (in young Tone's memoirs of his father, named Lamport), was married to Peter Tone in 1761. She had no relative living at the time of her decease. Her husband, Peter Tone, had two brothers and two sisters. The two brothers died without legitimate issue. One sister married a Mr. Clarendon, of the County Meath, and had two sons: both are dead. The other sister of Peter Tone married William Dunbavin, of Bodenstown, County Kildare (father of Nicholas Dunbavin, and had several children. All the sons were dead in 1847, with the exception of Nicholas Dunbavin, who was consequently a first-cousin of T. W. Tone. A sister of Nicholas Dunbavin married a person of the name of Dunnan, a son of whom was living in 1847, in

Francis Street, in great indigence (and subsequently, to the author's knowledge, was an inmate of a poor-house in Dublin).

Some extraordinary fatality seems to have pursued the family of the Tones. The grandfather was killed, as we have seen, by a fall from a corn stack. Theobald died by his own hand. Matthew perished on the scaffold. William Henry Tone, a soldier of fortune, a brave and enterprising man, made his way in India to the command of a regiment in the service of the Mahratta Sovereign, and was slain in battle. He had been brought up to the business of a bookseller in Dublin, had quitted his occupation, enlisted at the age of sixteen in the East India Company's service, and was detained six years in garrison in St. Helena. He was a remarkably handsome, soldier-like looking person, "the best-looking of all his family". He had "a natural turn for poetry", a warm and enthusiastic imagination: "he was as brave as Cæsar, and loved the army". In 1788 he returned to England, remained in Europe for about four years and re-entered the Company's service (in the ranks) in 1792. On his arrival in India, he distinguished himself so much as to obtain his discharge and a recommendation which insured him employment in the service of the Nizam. After many vicissitudes, he quit the service of the latter, proceeded to Poonah, and entered that of the ruler of the Mahrattas, where he soon raised himself to the rank of commandant of a regiment. Some of his letters between 1798 and 1800 are in my possession, most honourable to his character and his principles, and creditable to the qualities of the head as well as of the heart.

The letters from William H. Tone, of which the following are copies, were kindly communicated to me by Mrs. Moore, one of his surviving relatives:—

Letters from William H. Tone to his father, Peter Tone.

"Bombay, January, 25th, 1797.

"Dear Father,—I wrote to you by the overland despatch which left this settlement the 1st inst., which I hope will reach you long before this can. By the same conveyance I send a bill of exchange for one hundred pounds on the house of Law and Bruce, Laurence Lane, London. Should the first bill miscarry, you will immediately write to Messrs. Bruce and Law, where you will hear of the money, which I am sure must be convenient to you; and I only hope it may do you all the good that I wish. It is with great regret that I have to complain of the total neglect I have been treated with by the whole family—an inattention which I cannot forbear calling unkind. I will not, however, commence this

letter (which is, I believe, the twentieth which I have written to you) with any reproaches; but I trust that this will produce an answer; and I can only assure you, if you will communicate with me, and apprise me of your real situation, that my purse, person, and credit, shall be strained for your convenience. My present situation I shall describe as concisely as possible. I have for some time commanded a small corps in the service of Paisheva, the head of the Mahratta Empire. My pay has been tolerably liberal, but my expenses have nearly kept pace with it; I have it, therefore, in contemplation to go into the service of the Somba of the Dekan, where I have an offer of a brigade. I have not as yet determined, but shall inform you more fully in my next. In other respects I am very well in health, not very rich, but far above want, and have the peculiar happiness of enjoying the countenance and attention of the first characters in this country; a circumstance the more flattering, as I may say without vanity, that it is the consequence of my own behaviour. One circumstance has contributed very much to make me known here. I have now in the press a little book, a treatise on Mahratta Institutions, which will be published in the course of a month. It is tolerably well written, and contains a good deal of local information. I sold the copyright a few days ago for a thousand rupees, which is the sum I sent for your use, which you will consider the first-fruits of my literary labours. This incident has procured me great reputation, and a general correspondence with our Asiatic literati, many of whom I know only by letter. The work itself I shall send you when I hear from you, and also another to Theobald to America, where I understand he is. I have a very dear friend of mine returning to Boston, who has promised to find him out, if he be on the continent. As I am not certain whether this will reach you or not, I shall say but very little more. I have only to entreat you to write to me at large; let me candidly know your situation, which I am certain is not a splendid one. Professions are, I trust, not necessary between you and me; but, be assured, the last rupee I possess or can raise, shall be cheerfully contributed to your wants and that of the family.

"Write to me whenever this reaches you, and I will see what can be done; but I will positively give myself no further concern unless I receive an answer to this letter. I write constantly to our old friend, Harry Douglass, and I am happy to be able to inform you, that I have had it in my power lately to do him a small service in return for the very great one he conferred on me. He met lately with a young man, a natural son of his father's, in the ranks in Bengal, and not knowing exactly how to provide for him, I desired

him to send him round to me. I very fortunately happened to be in Bombay when he arrived, and shall take him up the country with me, where I am pretty certain of being able to procure him an appointment that will be worth from two to three hundred pounds a year. This circumstance may possibly put you upon thinking upon something for Arthur. I wish to God I had him here; I could without any difficulty get him a commission in his Majesty's service, or perhaps something better; but of this more when I hear from you.

"Tell my mother, my dear Mary, and in short all the family, that I love them sincerely; nor is it possible for any length of time or separation to alter me. I wish, however, to give other proofs than profession; but that totally depends on the answer to this. Give my love to my poor mother, and every one whom I care for,

"And believe me, my dear Sir, your ever affectionate son,

"W. H. TONE.

"Direct to me to 'Henry Fawcitt, Esq., Bombay, care of Messrs. Law and Bruce, London'.

"Peter Tone, Esq., Monk Place".

"Bombay, 1st January, (blank year).

"Dear Sir,—I have written to you so often without ever being favoured with a reply, that I am in the last degree of uneasiness to account for your silence. I send this by an overland despatch, and also transmit a draft on the house of Law and Bruce, London, which I hope will meet you—the sum of one hundred pounds.

"If I hear from you, and succeed as I have hitherto done in this country, I trust I shall be enabled to send you the same sum or so yearly. I am, from the regulation of postages, restricted very much in room, so shall be as explicit as possible. I have, therefore, only to inform you, that I am in good health and tolerable circumstances. I, at this time, command a brigade in the service of Nizam Ali, the Somba of the Dekan, and am in high favour at court and very much patronized by the British residents, and, in one word, have a universal acquaintance, and am very much respected. I have had offers of commissions in the King and Company's service, but prefer my present situation. In God's name where is —— ? I have heard from the public papers of his having gone to America. I write to him by a gentleman a friend of mine, returning there, and send him a copy of a work of mine, which is printing here, and procured me great reputation. I must leave off here. My

most affectionate love to my mother, Mary, and family, and believe me to be

"Your faithful and affectionate son,

"WILLIAM H. TONE.

"To Mr. Peter Tone".

An extract from a letter of William H. Tone to the widow of his brother, very shortly before his own decease, transmitting a draft to her for £233 sterling, will give some idea of the worth of this truly generous man.

"Camp on the Gour River, 2nd January, 1800.

"My dear Matty,—Your several letters of the following dates have all come to my hand; the first, dated Paris, 1st May, being a miscellaneous epistle from the whole family, I received in September, 1798; your other two letters of the dates of 16th December, 1798, and 20th January, 1799, I received in October last. Some circumstances prevented me from replying to them sooner; however, I hope I have answered them in essentials, having transmitted by the last month's packet a bill on the house of David Scott, junr. and Co., London, for the sum of £233 sterling, which I hope you will have received before this reaches you. Mr. Scott was directed to send a bill for the amount, according to your directions, to Mr. Meyer, Hamburg; and I trust that this sum will relieve your present embarrassments, until I can send a further supply. The dreadful information respecting my dearest Theobald had reached this country long before your letter. It is impossible and unnecessary to describe what I suffer for this irreparable calamity. However, I feel that unavailing grief or unmanly lamentation is not the part which is now left for me to act. Whether I loved my brother and esteemed him as I ought, must now be proved by my actions, and not by my professions. This most unfortunate of all circumstnces has, in its event, imposed new and weighty duties upon me, which I prepare to discharge with the fullest sense of their importance, and I hope the manner in which I shall act in this new and delicate situation, will convince you and the world, that my love and gratitude to the best of brothers and friends, has borne some proportion to his unparalleled goodness to me on every occasion. Many words are not necessary: in short, I live but for you and the children; and I hope Almighty God will grant me life and means to fulfil the duties of a father to them and a friend to you. And, rely on it, whilst I exist, my purse, person and credit, shall be strained for your convenience.

"The important duties of the children's education must be entirely left to you, and I have the consolation to feel that they can be nowhere under so proper an instructor. My part in this business, will be to furnish the money, and this shall not be wanting.

"Your truly affectionate brother and friend,

"WILLIAM HENRY TONE".

There is one passage in a letter of William H. Tone, dated "Gour River, January, 2nd, 1800", to Mrs Tone, which will suffice to illustrate his character—"Tell my beloved Maria" (his niece) "that I have not forgotten her. In the course of this year I shall send you fifty guineas, to be laid out by her, under your direction, in finery. We must not suffer her mind to be affected; and I know from experience that nothing depresses the spirits of a young person so much as a want of little elegancies in life". The next news that Mrs. Tone received of him was, that he had been killed in an attack on a fort, in one of the Mahratta wars—that he had been shot in the temple; but no particulars of time or place were ever obtained. I presume that his death took place between 1801 and 1804.

Mary whom Theobald speaks of in 1796 as "a fine young woman, with all the peculiarity of her brother's disposition, with all the delicacy of her own sex", accompanied her brother to America, and in December, 1796, came to France with his wife and children. There she married a young Swiss merchant in the winter of 1797, followed her husband to St. Domingo, and died of the yellow fever (according to the account given of the family in the life of Theobald) during the siege of Cape Francois, attending a sick friend, who had been deserted by her family and servants. But other accounts state that she was killed, and her husband likewise, by the negroes, in the insurrection of that island, about the year 1799. The French Minister at Hamburg, in one of his communications to his government, refers to the husband of Tone's sister as "Giaugue" (Geoghegan).*

* An informer, residing in Paris from the year 1790, a native of Ireland, who figures in the number of Mr. Pitt's correspondents from the Continent, for some years prior to 1798, under the initial O, kept the English government accurately informed of all the movements of the emissaries of the United Irishmen in France, of Tone and Lewines especially, as will be seen by the Memoirs of Lord Viscount Castlereagh, edited by his brother the Marquess of Londonderry, 8vo. 1849, vol. i. This person accompanied Napper Tandy to Ireland in the "Anacreon" privateer, in the autumn of 1798, and appears to have subsequently separated from Tandy. This informer is not to be confounded with the O'Keon who had been at the same period at Killala, when the French were there, and eventually was taken prisoner, tried, and set at liberty

Arthur, the youngest of the brothers, a fine high-spirited lad, was brought up to no profession or business. He took an early fancy to a sea-faring life, and when only twelve years of age, sailed to Portugal with a Captain Meyler. He made a second voyage to Portugal; and in June, 1795, the vessel he was in arrived at Belfast, where his brother Theobald then was, on the point of embarking for America. He abandoned his ship, and accompanied his brother to the United States, where he remained till the 10th of December, 1795, when he was sent by his brother to Ireland on a perilous political mission, which he discharged with ability and discretion. Mr. James Hornidge of Dublin, who had known him in America, states, that about 1797 he was serving his time in the north to a manufacturer in the linen business, and was implicated, though a mere boy at the time, in the affairs of the United Irishmen, and had to leave the north on that account. He came up to Dublin with his father's friend, Thomas Russell. The fact is, the great men of the "Union" in the north were alarmed at the secret of their connection with the society being in the keeping of a boy, and they determined to send him out of the kingdom.

He was sent back to America; but finding his brother had left that country, he went to sea, and made a voyage to the West Indies. On his return to America he met his brother Matthew; but the latter was on the point of leaving America, and the poor lad was again obliged to go to sea to earn a subsistence. At length he returned to Europe, and in the summer of 1798 made his way to Holland, where he entered the Dutch navy as midshipman, under the patronage of Admiral De Winter. He became "a universal favourite, though very wild, and distinguished himself in several actions by a rare intrepidity. Taken by the English not long after his brother's capture and decease, he was recognized by an Irish officer weeping over the account of his brother's death. His kind-hearted countryman favoured his escape, and he was promoted, at the age of sixteen, to a lieutenancy. He sailed soon after to the East Indies, and since that period, never had been heard of ".*

immediately after his trial. Henry O'Keon had been an Irish priest in Paris previous to the revolution, became a soldier, and fixed himself on Humbert as an interpreter. In one of the many letters of M. Reinhard, the French Minister at Hamburg, to the French Secretary of State, M. Charles de la Croix, dated July 23rd, 1797, duly intercepted by Mr. Pitt's agent, and copied and transmitted to the English Minister (vide "Castlereagh's Memoirs", vol. i., from page 218 to page 306), the French Minister at Hamburg, M. Reinhard, makes mention of the husband of the sister of Tone, Mons. Giaugue (Geoghegan), having given him intelligence of the arrival of Dr. M'Nevin and another emissary of the United Irishmen at the Hague (page 290, vol. i.). R.R.M.

* "Life of Tone", vol. ii. p. 546.

And now it only remains for me to say a few words of the widow of Theobald Wolfe Tone. Her name assuredly, and the remembrance of her virtues and her sufferings, will not be forgotten in Ireland. *When I was a young man, at least I thought so; but now in the scar and yellow leaf of life, it seems to me, it might suffice to say, they ought not to be forgotten there.*

She was a faithful, noble-minded, true-hearted, and generous woman, utterly divested of selfishness, ready to make any sacrifice and to endure any suffering for her husband, her children, and her country. Always cheerful, trustful, and hopeful in her husband's destiny, and strongly impressed with the goodness of his heart, and the brilliancy of his talents, and his devotedness to his cause, she was the solace of his life, the never-failing comfort of it, the courageous partner and partaker of his trials in adversity, and the support of his weariness of mind in all his struggles, labours, and embarrassments.

The writer in the *New Monthly Magazine*, I have already cited, of a notice of Tone's widow and son when living in Paris, in 1815, thus speaks of Mrs. Tone's personal appearance and mental qualities:—

"It was, I think, in February, 1815, that I first saw and became acquainted with them. From particular circumstances, I was received by them, from the first moment, with confidence and kindness. Mrs. Tone, I was aware, had been admired for personal charms in her youth. She was living retired, but with the comforts and many of the elegances of life, in the Faubourg St. Germain. Her circle of acquaintance was of the best class, almost wholly French—that is, with little mixture, or alloy, of English, Irish, or American. Portraits, of herself when a girl, eminently beautiful—of her husband in the uniform of a French field-officer—and of a son and daughter whom she had lost a very few years before, were hung in the room in which she received her visitors and friends.

"Her conversation, for which her husband's adventures, and the scenes which she had herself witnessed during her residence in France, under the Directory, the Consulate, and the Empire, afforded interesting matter, was instructive, lively, and engaging. The Gallicisms in her English gave a certain charm of originality and point to her observations on French manners and character, of which she had as quick a sense as if arrived but yesterday. She yet made herself highly agreeable in French society, and was allowed by French women to have seized its *ton*—all allowance for a foreigner.

"Shortly after the downfall of Napoleon I was introduced by them to a Scottish gentleman just arrived,

as to an estimable man and their best friend. The purpose of his visit soon proved to me that he was both the one and the other. He had met Mrs. Tone, many years before, I think on board ship, on her way to France from the United States, after the death of her husband. He felt interested at first sight for a beautiful woman with an infant family, enduring the hardships of a voyage; became still more so upon learning who she was; and at last offered her his hand. This excellent woman, helpless and unprotected as she was, still thought it due to the memory of Tone that she should bear no other name, and continued to resist solicitation and advice from the period of her first meeting Mr. W—— to that of which I speak. At the instance of all her own and her husband's friends, and of her son, she now consented. I called on her the day before that fixed for her marriage. She happened to be alone, was unusually sad, and for the first time that I had seen her, dressed in white. I felt slightly shocked at the instant by the transition, and my eye passed involuntarily to the portrait of Tone, which hung immediately before her. She rose and retired, in silence and in tears. Next day the marriage took place in the chapel of the British Embassy".

In 1847, the relict of Theobald Wolfe Tone still survived in the neighbourhood of Washington, in Georgetown, in the district of Colombia, then for upwards of twenty years the widow of that good man, Mr. Wilson of Dullatur, in Scotland. She was born the 17th of June, 1769; she died the 18th March, 1849, in Georgetown, in her eighty-first year. Her remains should be in Bodenstown churchyard, mingled with those of her beloved husband, Theobald Wolfe Tone.

Letter to the Widow of T. W. Tone, in vindication of her husband's memory, in 1842.

On the appearance of the first series of the first edition of this work, in 1842, the widow of Theobald Wolfe Tone, then in her seventy-third year, addressed a letter to the editor of the *New York Truth-Teller*, characteristic of that fidelity and devotion to the memory of her husband, which were so constantly displayed by her in all circumstances, with the spirit of one truly, who had instructed her sorrows to be proud:—

"*To the Editor of the Truth-Teller.*

"Georgetown, D. C., Oct. 19th, 1842.

"Sir,—Since the first establishment of your paper I have been a constant subscriber to it, and have at present before

me that of last Saturday, the 15th instant, in which you pass so beautiful and so just an eulogium on my ever-lamented friend, Dr. William James M'Nevin. But all I have suffered in the cause of Ireland gives me some right to appeal, and to complain that in that article you have not done justice to the memory of my husband, Theobald Wolfe Tone. You say, 'it was only after Theobald Wolfe Tone had been in France for some time, and had obtained a promise of aid from Napoleon and the French Directory, that these societies, being repulsed by government, &c., &c., resolved on a revolution and a total separation from England'. This is all a mistake. In the year 1791 Tone wrote the pamphlet entitled, 'An argument on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland, in which the present political state of that country and the necessity of a parliamentary reform are considered'. At the time of writing it he was not acquainted with a single Catholic, but wrote on the general merits of the case and unnatural state of the country, and printed anonymously. But the Catholic leaders called on the writer to make himself known, republished and circulated the work, and by a resolution of the general committee, John Keogh, of Mount Jerome, and John Sweetman, were ordered to wait on him, offering him the situation of agent and assistant secretary to the general committee of the Catholics of Ireland. I may say he was both trusted and beloved by them, and he loved and honoured them. His whole time and talents were devoted to them and to their cause. He was consulted by them, and advised them—he wrote all their publications—he was the only Protestant admitted at the Catholic Convention—he wrote their petition to the King, and accompanied the delegation that carried it to the King, and accompanied the delegation that carried it to England, and on the dissolution of the committee he was publicly thanked by them: I have the vote engrossed on vellum and framed. But his labours did not end here: he travelled with Keogh, or others, wherever they could hope to make converts to the cause and to form societies of United Irishmen, which name was invented by him, when he proposed to drop the invidious distinctions of Catholic, Dissenter, and Protestant, and adopt that national denomination. I have perceived lately that it is a sort of fashion to throw the idea of separation from England solely and entirely on Tone. This is not fair. It was his belief that if a liberal emancipation of the Catholics—a full and fair representation of all the people of Ireland in an Irish parliament—when the immense resources of the country could be developed and honestly applied to the benefit of the country, a separation would in a short time be the certain consequence; but he did not think of separation till every hope had failed, nor did he

then think of it alone.

"Doctor Madden, in his *United Irishmen*, quotes from Tone's life a letter addressed to him in this country, dated September, 1795, concluding with the words:—'Once more, dear Tone, remember and execute your garden conversation', which he concludes to be from Emmet and Russell. He is mistaken; it was from John Keogh, of Mount Jerome, and I have the original—a man whom Tone knew to be cautious even to timidity, and yet he wished for French aid, and promised in the letter that his son Cornelius should join them on landing. In another place Dr. Madden quotes, and I think at least carelessly, from the work, that the United Irish Club, which Tone was so instrumental in establishing in Dublin, was scarcely formed before he lost all influence in it, which the doctor attributes to the *violence of his measures*. If he had read or quoted a little further, the following lines are, 'a circumstance which mortified me not a little at first, and, perhaps, had I retained more weight in their councils, I might have prevented, as on some occasions I laboured unsuccessfully to prevent, their running into indiscretions, which gave their enemies too great advantages over them'. There is nothing which the heart so much revolts at as to point out even the errors of those who acted nobly, and sealed their principles with their blood; but it is the truth, that Lord Edward Fitzgerald and the Sheares, who had just arrived from France, in the hey-day of the Revolution, were acting revolution before it was made, and, joined by all young and ardent spirits, spoke and acted with ruinous indiscretion; even Dr. Drennan was caught, and published that frantic address of 'Citizen Soldiers, to arms! Citizens, your country is in danger'. Tone laboured in vain to check this folly, but there was no deceit in it; it was honest, generous enthusiasm and young excitement. About this period, the summer of '95, we left Ireland. Before our departure, Tone consulted with the leaders of each party; for the Catholics, Keogh and M'Cormack. The conversation was held in Keogh's garden at Mount Jerome. He adds, 'they both laid the most positive injunctions upon me to leave nothing unattempted on my part to force my way to France, and lay our situation before the government there'. We went by Belfast, and there again consultations were held with the leading men of the Dissenters and Defenders; all were of the same mind, and he adds, 'I now look upon myself as competent to speak fully and with confidence, for the Catholics, for the Dissenters, and for the Defenders of Ireland'. We sailed in June, '95—he received letters from them all, urgently praying him to lose no time. I am told that Doctor Madden was twice to New York in search of documents for his history. I wonder he did not apply to me. I never heard

of him till I saw his book advertised; perhaps he was ignorant of my existence, for I live in complete retirement, and to use Carolan's words—

'Lonely and desolate I mourn the dead'.

"I am ashamed of this rambling and diffuse letter; but, under the weight of seventy-three years and a broken heart, I cannot make it better, else I would write it over again; but the subject makes my heart beat and my hand tremble, and I am sure I should not mend it. I only hope you will find it legible, and take the trouble to read it. Remember, I do not write for publication, but simply for your own information, if you again refer to the subject. I should have mentioned that, on leaving Ireland, Tone again received the farewell thanks of the Catholics of Dublin, for services rendered to the Catholic body, which no gratitude can overrate—no remuneration overpay; it was moved by Dr. M'Nevin.

"I beg once more to apologise for the trouble I give you, and remain, your admirer and constant reader,

"MATILDA TONE WILSON".

I addressed a letter to Mrs. Tone, in reply to her communication in the American paper, believing it was in my power to remove some misconceptions of hers in regard to the passages she refers to in my work. From that letter the following extracts are taken:—

"48 Sloane Square, London,
"December 21st, 1842.

"In addressing you on the subject of your recent letter, let me assure you no one can feel more strongly than I do the claim which your sorrows, and your noble conduct in every relation, to your husband and to your children, have to unfeigned respect. I visited the United States in 1834, in 1836, and the latter part of 1839. The circumstance of my not being fortunate enough to make your acquaintance did not, I assure your, arise from any indifference of mine, either as regards the latter, or the value I set on the information you could have afforded me. On this point, Dr. M'Nevin, had he been living, could have spoken to your entire satisfaction, and the papers of your daughter-in law, Mrs. Sampson, may be found to bear out that assertion. On each occasion of my visiting the Northern States, I was informed you were residing in a remote district; but the mere circumstance of distance would not have prevented

me from communicating directly with you, had I not felt the various afflictions you had met with, and the one which had crowned calamity—the recent and untimely death of your highly gifted son—were of a character that forbade one who was a stranger to you, to touch upon subjects that must have renewed very mournful recollections.

"I beg to assure you it is a misconception which I did not fall into, that the letter referred to in the journals of your husband 'from one of the chief Catholic leaders' was written either by Emmet or Russell, or conjointly by them. Such an idea never came into my mind, nor have I stated anything of the kind. The letter, it was perfectly evident to me, was written by John Keogh. Neither Russell nor Emmet could be called Catholic leaders, though both were advocates of emancipation; and, moreover, the reference in that letter to the infirmities of age, and also to 'Cornelius', could neither apply to one or the other of the latter mentioned persons. They were in the prime of life; one was unmarried, and the other had no child of the name of 'Cornelius'. But it was perfectly evident to me, that John Keogh, the chief Catholic leader of that time, then even in advanced years, and father of Mr. Cornelius Keogh, was the writer of that letter. I take it, that the supposed misconception is to be attributed to my reference to that letter of John Keogh being followed in the next page by a citation from your son's work, of a conversation between his father, and Emmet, and Russell, which I introduced expressly after my allusion to the letter, to show that the idea of national independence, formed in youth and relinquished only in death, which was the alpha and omega of the political views of Theobald Wolfe Tone, was entertained likewise by the great Catholic leaders of his day, as well as by the Reformers, who were considered at that period moderate men compared with others, namely, Emmet and Russell.

"As to my opinion of the early loss of influence of the founder of the United Irish Society in Dublin, over its councils, being carelessly taken up, with all the respect and courtesy that are due to you, permit me to say, I am not sensible that I have fallen into any error on that point. The loss of influence, in the plainest terms, is expressed in Tone's journals, and seems to have been very poignantly felt by their author. He freely admits the cause of it, in the various allusions he makes to the milk-and-water speeches and addresses of the members of the society, the necessity of shaping his own views to theirs, and of diluting his opinions with their element. The chief leaders of the first United Irish Society were not prepared to reject Reform, Catholic Emancipation, and the security of Parliamentary Independence, had they been offered; and it

was well known that objects ulterior to these measures had not only been avowed in conversation, but more than glanced at in published papers, by T. W. Tone. On the other hand, it is quite true that your husband did complain of the violence in words on the part of some members of the society, which could have no other effect than to disconcert the plans of those who were bent on more extreme proceedings.

"Thus, Madam, I have endeavoured to set myself right in your opinion on these points which you have referred to. Perhaps in regard to them I have expressed myself in terms that either fall short of my sentiments, or give you an erroneous conception of them. In any case, I beg you to believe that if there be one expression in my book that is calculated to give you pain, or do any injury to the memory of your husband, I have wronged myself, and most unconsciously given offence to you.

"I have the honour to be, Madam,

"Your very obedient servant,

"R. R. MADDEN".

[An interesting and valuable series of articles on Matilda Tone appeared in *The Nation* for April, May, June, and July, 1848. Ed.]

End of Volume 2.